This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

2125.15.150

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

FROM THE BEQUEST OF

CHARLES SUMNER

CLASS OF 1830

Senator from Massachusetts

FOR BOOKS RELATING TO
POLITICS AND FINE ARTS

A SKETCH.

BY A LADY.

Taken at Oxford, June 13, 1834.

"Placetne vobis Domini Doctores, placetne vobis Magistri"

WELLINGTON:

OR,

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

OF

ARTHUR,

FIRST DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

AS

Told by Himself, his Comrades, and his Intimate Friends.

BY

George
G. LATHOM BROWNE,

AUTHOR OF "NARRATIVES OF STATE TRIALS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY," "THE LIFE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, 1853," ETC. ETC.

LONDON:

W. H. ALLEN & CO., 13, WATERLOO PLACE.

1888.

All rights reserved.

Br 2123.15.130

~~S-4445.3~~

HARVARD COLLEGE
DEC 19 1898
LIBRARY.

Sumner Fund.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

TO

HENRY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

THIS SKETCH OF

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE OF HIS

ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTOR,

AS

TOLD BY HIMSELF, HIS COMRADES, AND HIS INTIMATE FRIENDS,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

HIS OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

PART I.—PUBLIC LIFE.

CHAPTER I. 1769–1809.

PAGE

First Commission—M.P. for Trim—India—Seringapatam—Assaye—Interview with Lord Nelson—Copenhagen—Fear of Buonaparte in Europe—Dry Nurses—First Expedition to Portugal—Vimiero—The French Army—Convention of Cintra—Marshal Junot—Sir John Moore and Buonaparte. 1

CHAPTER II. 1809–1810.

Return to the Peninsula—Power of sleeping at Will—Talavera—The Lines of Torres Vedras—Revelations of Movements of the Army by the English Newspapers—Massena and the Portuguese Ordenanza—Exchange of Prisoners—Newspaper Critics—The Effect of the Lines of Torres Vedras on the War. . . . 21

CHAPTER III. 1810–1812.

Massena's Retreat—Extempore Scaling-ladders at Ciudad Rodrigo—Wellington's Care for the Wounded—Battle of Salamanca—Siege of and Retreat from Burgos—A narrow Escape—Cause of the Failure at Burgos—Censure of the Army. 36

CHAPTER IV. 1812–1813.

Conduct of the Spanish Troops during the War—Irish Spaniards—Spanish Jealousy of Foreigners—Intrigues against Wellington—Crawford—Charles Stewart. 52

CHAPTER V. 1813.

PAGE

The last March into Spain—Passage of the Ebro and Battle of Vittoria—Effect of the News of the Victory—The Battles of the Pyrenees—Passage of the Bidassoa—The great Rhune—Good Feeling between the English and French Armies—Proposed Separation of the English and Portuguese Armies. . . . 64

CHAPTER VI. 1813–1814.

Entry into France—Orders to the Troops and the Inhabitants—The Duke's Discipline and Punishment of Plunderers during the War—The Comte Gerat—The Priest of St. Pé and the Return of the Bourbons—Wellington in Toulouse—The two Maires—Entry into Paris with Louis XVIII.—The Duke's Opinions of Napoleon as a General—Littleness of Mind—System of Secrecy—Superiority over his Marshals—Plans of Campaigns—Character, his whole Life a Fraud. 81

CHAPTER VII. 1815.

Ambassador at Paris and Vienna—Return of Napoleon from Elba—In command of Allied Army in Flanders—The Evening before Quatre Bras—Conference with Blücher—The Battle of Quatre Bras—Retreat to Waterloo—Defence of Hougomont—Buonaparte at Waterloo—Dutch Troops—Close of the Battle—Wellington's Coolness—Gordon's Death—The Duke and his Losses at Waterloo—His Opinions on some Points of War—Numbers of Troops in his great Battles 102

CHAPTER VIII. 1815–1818.

Occupation of Paris by the Allies—Louis Philippe—The Duke and Marshal Blücher—The Pont de Jena and the Levy on Paris—Blücher's Proposal to shoot Napoleon as outlawed by the Proclamation of the allied Sovereigns—Duke and Fouché and the Surrender of Vincennes—The Coat of Arms on the Duke's Carriage—The Duke and the French Marshals—Marshal Ney's Execution—Arbitrator on British Claims—A Grandee of Spain—Offer of an Estate in France—Order of the St. Esprit. . . 128

CHAPTER IX. 1818–1827.

PAGE

Master-General of the Ordnance—On the Solicitation of Friends for the Promotion of Officers—Small Salaries and heavy Responsibilities—Ambassador to the Coronation of the Czar Nicholas—His Refusal to hold the Governorship of Plymouth with Constableship of the Tower—Commander-in-Chief—The Duke of York's Debts and Funeral—The Duke of Clarence's proposed memorial Dinner 148

CHAPTER X. 1827–1828.

The Duke's Refusal to join the Cabinet of Mr. Canning—His Resignation of the Command-in-Chief—The King's Attempt to persuade him to return—Re-appointment to the Command on the Death of Mr. Canning and Accession of the Goderich Cabinet . 165

CHAPTER XI. 1828.

The Duke's first Ministry—How the Cabinet was made up—Publication of Cabinet Secrets—Minor Troubles—Slavery in our Colonies—The Duke and the Lord High Admiral's Attempts at independent Authority 179

CHAPTER XII. 1828–1829.

The true Reason for the Removal of the Marquis of Anglesey from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland—The Duel with the Earl of Winchilsea 203

CHAPTER XIII. 1820–1829.

The Progress of the Duke's Opinions on Roman Catholic Emancipation—The Conduct of the King during the Progress of the Relief Bill—The Duke and Peel 224

CHAPTER XIV. 1829–1830.

The Duke's Difficulties with the King's Temper—The Intrigues of the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Lieven—The Duke and the Polignac Cabinet—Political Difficulties after passing the Catholic Relief Bill—The Death of George IV. 239

CHAPTER XV. 1830–1832.

PAGE

The Duke and Parliamentary Reform—The first Reform Cabinet—The Duty of the Opposition—Swing Riots in 1830–31—The Duke's Attempt to form a Cabinet in 1832—Paper Currency—Buckinghamshire Lace—Plans of Projectors—Advice on Emigration—On reporting private Conversations 259

CHAPTER XVI. 1832–1852.

The Duke's reported Intention of leaving England—His Warning to Lord Melbourne of the reported Designs of Russia—His Position in the Cabinet of Sir R. Peel in 1841—The Duke and the Corn Law Question—His Reasons for supporting the Repeal of the Corn Laws—His Feelings after its Passing—His Defence of the 62nd Regiment in the Campaign on the Sutlej—His Measures for the Defence of London at the Time of the Chartist Meeting in 1848—His Advice to Lord Malmesbury when appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1852 281

PART II.—PRIVATE LIFE.

CHAPTER I. 1816–1826.

Stockmar's Portrait of the Duke in 1816—The Duke as a Godfather—The neglected Army Chaplain—Kindness to General Alava—Qualifications for the Magistracy—His Health in 1824, and Cause of his Illness—His private Charities—Wilkie's and Burnet's Pictures—The Spanish Pictures taken at Vittoria 306

CHAPTER II. 1827–1839.

Libels—The Charge of Gambling—The Execution of François de la Tour—Selling Gunpowder to Russia—Threats of Personal Violence—The Charge of Irreligion—Chancellor of the University of Oxford—His Detractors in 1838—The Equestrian Statue in Hyde Park 323

CHAPTER III. 1809–1852.

PAGE

The Duke's Failing Health—His Health in his 72nd Year—His Daily Life at Walmer Castle—His early Rising—Handwriting in 1851; Facsimile of Letter to the Chaplain of the King of Hanover—His Courtesy and Fair Dealing—The Queen's Visit to Louis Philippe at Eu—Visit of the Czar to England, and suspected Plot for his Assassination—The Duke's last Year—The last Visit to Mr. Croker—The Duke's last Moments and Cause of his Death—His Funeral 341

CONCLUSION.

Notes of his Opinions on the Character and Actions of some of his Contemporaries 359

APPENDIX.

Extracts from Napier's 'Peninsular War' 367
Extracts from 'The Subaltern,' by the Rev. G. R. Gleig . . 368
La Maraude, the Cause of the Losses of the French Army in Russia in 1812 371

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Portrait of the Duke as Chancellor of the University of Oxford . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Facsimile of Letter, July 30, 1831. . . . . *To face p.* 265

Facsimile of Letter to Chaplain of the King of Hanover, Nov. 22, 1851 . . . . . „ 346

MAPS.

The Lines of Torres Vedras . . . . . *To face p.* 26

Last March into Spain . . . . . „ 64

Passage of the Bidassoa . . . . . „ 73

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

With Dates and Authorities for the Statements.

PUBLIC LIFE—MILITARY AND POLITICAL.

Date.	Subject.	Authority.
1769.	First Commission—Attendance to his Profession	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
1793.	M.P. for Trim—Last Irish Parliament	*Froude.*
1799.	Seringapatam—Wellesley and General Baird	*Croker and Sir J. Malcolm.*
1803.	Battle of Assaye	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
„	Long Marches in India	*Croker.*
1805.	Interview with Lord Nelson	*Croker.*
1807.	Battle of Kioge	*Croker.*
„	Fear of Buonaparte in all Europe	*Croker.*
„	Major-General Wellesley and the Horse Guards	*Croker.*
1808.	Lieut.-General Wellesley on the French Army Tactics	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
„	The Battle of Vimiero	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
„	Defence of the Convention of Cintra	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
„	Wellesley and Marshal Junot	*Raikes.*
„	Buonaparte and Sir John Moore	*Croker and Lanfrey.*
1807.	Wellesley's power of sleeping at Will	*Croker.*
„	Defence of Portugal—Lines of Torres Vedras	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Revelations by English Newspapers of the General's Plans	*Wellington Despatches.*
1810.	Exchange of Prisoners with Massena	*Larpent.*
„	Massena and the Portuguese Ordenanza	*Lanfrey.*
„	Wellington and Newspaper Critics	*Croker.*
„	The effect of the Lines of Torres Vedras	*Lanfrey.*

Date.	Subject.	Authority.
1812.	Extempore Scaling Ladders at Ciudad Rodrigo and Gun Platforms at the Adour	*Larpent.*
„	His Care for the Wounded	*Sir J. B. Burgess, Sir G. Napier, Lord W. Lennox.*
„	Battle of Salamanca	*Croker.*
„	Marmont and Buonaparte	*Croker.*
„	The Retreat from Burgos	*Larpent.*
„	A narrow Escape, from Disobedience to Orders	*Croker.*
„	The Causes of the Failure at Burgos and Censure of his Army	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Conduct of the Spanish Troops—After Talavera—At Toulouse . . .	*Sir G. Napier.*
„	Irish Spaniards in the Peninsula. . .	*Croker.*
1808–9.	Spanish Jealousy of Foreigners . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1812.	Wellington and General Crawford . .	*Larpent.*
„	Intrigues against Wellington in the Peninsula	*Larpent.*
„	Bringing an Adjutant-General to Reason	*Croker.*
1813.	Passage of the Ebro and Battle of Vittoria	*Quarterly Review*, 1853, *and Croker.*
„	Picture of the Battle of Vittoria . . .	*Croker.*
„	Wellington's position after Vittoria . .	*Larpent.*
„	The Battles of the Pyrenees	*Larpent.*
„	The Attack by the Spaniards on the Great Rhune	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Good Feeling between the English and French Armies in Spain—Proximity of Pickets	*Quarterly Review, Maurel, Larpent.*
„	Suggested Separation of the English and Portuguese Army.	*Lord W. Lennox.*
„	Wellington's Discipline and Orders to the Army on entering France	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Wellington and the Comte Gerat . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1814.	The Priest of St. Pé and the Return of the Bourbons	*Croker.*
„	Wellington in Toulouse	*Larpent.*
„	Wellington and the two Maires . . .	*Larpent.*
„	Wellington at the Entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris	*Lord Broughton.*

Date.	Subject.	Authority.
1814.	Napoleon as a General	*Croker.*
„	Buonaparte's Littleness of Mind	*Croker.*
„	Jonathan Wild the Great	*Croker.*
„	Buonaparte's System of Secrecy . . .	*Croker.*
„	His Superiority over his Marshals . .	*Croker.*
„	His Plans of Campaigns	*Croker.*
„	His Character	*Croker.*
1815.	Proposed Partition of France . . .	*Raikes.*
„	The Return of Napoleon from Elba . .	*Croker.*
„	The Evening before Quatre Bras . . .	*Von Muffling.*
„	The Battle of Quatre Bras	*Croker.*
„	The Defence of Hougomont	*Von Muffling.*
„	Buonaparte at Waterloo	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
„	The Dutch Troops at Waterloo . . .	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
„	The Close of Waterloo	*Croker.*
„	Wellington, the Field of Waterloo . .	*Lord W. Lennox.*
„	Gordon's Death at Waterloo	*Lord W. Lennox.*
„	Wellington's Coolness in War . . .	*Larpent.*
„	His Description of a Battle	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	How the Duke treated Grumblers . .	*Lord W. Lennox.*
Various dates.	National Characteristics of the Armies in the Peninsula . . .	*Croker.*
„	On Cuirasses for Cavalry	*Croker.*
„	English and French Cavalry . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Effect of Infantry Fire on Cavalry .	*Larpent.*
„	The Duke's aversion to Reckless Acts of Bravery	*Lord W. Lennox.*
„	Numbers of his Troops in his Great Battles	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.
1808–15.	Wellington's Victories in Spain and France	*Maurel.*
1815.	Louis Philippe's attempt to be declared King at the Fall of Napoleon . . .	*Croker and Raikes.*
„	The Duke and Marshal Blucher—The Pont de Jena and Contribution from Paris	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The allied Proclamation against Napoleon, and Blucher's Proposal to shoot him.	*Wellington Despatches and Von Muffling.*
„	The Duke and Fouché—Surrender of Vincennes and Capture of Buonaparte.	*Croker.*
„	The Duke in Paris and his Coat of Arms	*Croker.*
„	The Duke and the French Marshals .	*Quarterly Review*, 1853.

Date.	Subject.	Authority.
1815.	The Duke and the Execution of Marshal Ney	*Lord W. Lennox and Gen. Napier.*
„	The Duke made Arbitrator of Foreign Claims	*Croker.*
„	Made a Grandee of Spain	*Croker.*
„	Offered an Estate in France, and given the Order of the St. Esprit	*Croker.*
1818.	Appointed Master-General of the Ordnance	*Wellington Despatches.*
1819.	Difficulty in Selecting Officers for Promotion	*Wellington Despatches.*
1822.	To an Officer addicted to Gambling . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1823.	Engineer Officers as Architects . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1823–6.	Small Salaries and Heavy Responsibilities	*Wellington Despatches.*
1823.	To a General Officer—Why he had not recommended him for a G.C.B. . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	On Friends soliciting Promotion for Officers	*Wellington Despatches.*
1824.	An Improper Present	*Wellington Despatches.*
1826.	Appointed Ambassador to Congratulate the new Czar	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Refusal to hold the Governorship of Plymouth with the Constableship of the Tower	*Wellington Despatches.*
1827.	His Order of taking the Command of the Army	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke of York's Funeral and Debts .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke and Mr. Canning as Premier .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1828.	The Duke on the Anti-slavery Agitation	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke as Premier	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Publication of Cabinet Secrets—Official Reticence	*Herries, Wellington Despatches.*
„	Grounds for Refusing a Peerage . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Amateur Advisers	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke of Clarence as Lord High Admiral, and the Duke as Premier .	*Wellington Despatches and Croker.*
1829.	Mr. Nash's Baronetcy	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The True Reason of the Recall of Lord Anglesey from Ireland	*Wellington Despatches.*

Date.	Subject.	Authority.
1829.	The Duke and Catholic Emancipation—Progress of his Opinions from 1820. .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Difficulties with the King's Temper—Mr. Denman—Mr. Peter Comyn . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Intrigues of the Duke of Cumberland and Madame de Lieven	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke's Difficulties after Catholic Relief Bill.	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The King's proposed Visit to Paris . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke on Paper Currency . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	On the proposal to force Buckinghamshire Lace by the King	*Wellington Despatches.*
1830.	The Swing Riots in 1830	*Wellington Despatches and Greville.*
„	Plans of Projectors	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke and the Polignac Cabinet. .	*Stockmar, Croker, and De Circourt.*
„	The Duke on the Duty of the Opposition in Parliament	*Wellington Despatches.*
1832.	The Duke's attempt to form a Cabinet in 1832	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke on Emigration	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke on reporting Private Conversations	*Wellington Despatches.*
1833.	Reported Intention of the Duke to leave the Country after the Reform Bill . .	*Herries.*
1835.	His Warning to the Cabinet of the Designs of Russia	*Lord Broughton.*
1841.	The Duke in Sir R. Peel's Cabinet—The Corn Laws	*Croker, Lord Malmesbury, Annual Register, and Wellington Despatches.*
1848.	The Duke's Arrangement to frustrate the Great Chartist Meeting	*Lord Campell, Frost and Lord Malmesbury.*
1852.	His Advice to Lord Malmesbury on his Accepting the Foreign Office . . .	*Lord Malmesbury.*
„	His Defence of the Conduct of the 62nd Regiment at the Battle of the Sutlej .	*Lord W. Lennox and Hansard.*

THE DUKE IN PRIVATE LIFE.

Date.	Subject.	Authority.
1816.	His Portrait in this Year	*Baron Stockmar.*
1819.	The Duties of a Godfather	*Wellington Despatches.*
1820.	The Neglected Army Chaplain . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1821.	Officious Politeness.	*Wellington Despatches.*
1821–30.	Qualifications for Magistrates—Clerical Magistrates	*Wellington Despatches.*
1823.	Kindness to General Alava	*G. Napier, Wellington Despatches.*
„	Charge against the Duke of Gambling .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1824.	Cause of his Illness in this Year . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
Various dates.	His private Charities—Wilkie's and Burnet's pictures of Waterloo and Trafalgar	*Quarterly Review, Article on Apsley House,* 1853.
„	The Spanish Pictures taken at Vittoria	*Wellington Despatches.*
1823–6.	Small Salaries and Great Responsibilities	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	To a General Officer—Why he had not recommended him for a G.C.B. . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	On Friends soliciting Promotion for Officers	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Appointed Ambassador at the Coronation of the Czar Nicholas	*Wellington Despatches.*
1824.	An Improper Offer of a Present . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1826.	Execution of Francis de la Tour . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1828.	Charge of Selling Gunpowder to Russia from Government Stores	*Wellington Despatches.*
1829.	Catholic Emancipation—Progress of his Opinions from 1820	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Difficulties with the King's Temper—Mr. Denman and Mr. Peter Comyn .	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Intrigues of the Duke of Cumberland and Baroness Lieven	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	His Difficulties after the Catholic Relief Bill	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The King's proposed Visit to Charles X.	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	His Opinions on Paper Currency . . .	*Wellington Despatches.*
1830.	The Swing Riots	*Wellington Despatches and Greville.*

Date.	Subject.	Authority.
1830.	Plans of Projectors	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	The Duke and the Cabinet of M. de Polignac	*Stockmar, Croker and De Circourt.*
„	His Opinion of the Duty of the Opposition to Lord Grey's Government	*Wellington Despatches.*
1830–2.	Threats of Personal Violence—The Duke and the Madman	*Wellington Despatches, Quarterly Review.*
1832.	The Bishop of Exeter and the Charge of Irreligion	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	Attempts to form a Cabinet this Year	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	His Advice on Emigration	*Wellington Despatches.*
„	His Opinion of Reporting Private Conversations	*Wellington Despatches.*
1833.	Reported Intention to leave England	*Herries.*
1834.	Elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford—The Latin Speech—the Portrait	*Croker and Raikes.*
1835.	His Warning to the Cabinet of the Designs of Russia	*Lord Broughton.*
1838–85.	The History of the Equestrian Statue at Hyde Park Corner	*Wellington Despatches.*
1838.	His Detractors	*Croker.*
1839.	His Failing Health	*Croker and Raikes.*
„	The Heirlooms—The Duke's Solicitors	
1842.	His Early Rising	*Annual Register.*
1843.	His Daily Life at Walmer Castle	*Raikes.*
„	His Self-denying Courtesy	*Raikes.*
„	His Fair Dealing	*Raikes.*
„	The Duke and Arbuthnot	*Raikes.*
„	How the Duke settled the Question of Precedence between the Kings of Belgium and Hanover	*Raikes.*
1852.	What is on the other Side of the Hill?	*Croker.*
„	The Duke and the old Soldier	*Croker.*
„	His Horse Copenhagen	*Croker.*
„	Croker's last Interview with the Duke	*Croker.*
„	The Duke and the Duchess of Montpensier	*Croker.*
„	The Duke's last Moments	*Lady Charles Wellesley.*
„	The Cause of his Death	*Dr. Williams.*
„	The Duke's Funeral	*Lord Malmesbury.*

THE DUKE'S OPINIONS OF SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES. DATES VARIOUS.

Subject.	Authority.
Talleyrand—the Grounds of his Reputation	*Croker and Raikes.*
Talleyrand and Fouché	*Raikes.*
Charles X.	*Croker.*
The Archduke Charles of Austria	*Croker.*
Sir Sidney Smith	*Croker.*

TO THE READER.

I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages to illustrate the leading acts and opinions of the illustrious warrior and statesman in his own words, as recorded in his Despatches and Letters, or as reported by his comrades and his most intimate friends.

Of the value of the first series of the Despatches—that edited by Colonel Gurwood during the lifetime of the Duke, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* of March 1853 gives the following estimate:—

"The publication, as far as it has gone—this code of the English soldier and gentleman—this encyclopædia of military and administrative science, first convinced many of our Liberals of the union in our Great Captain of all those high qualities which the glorious profession of arms peculiarly calls forth. These unaffected documents could not be mistaken. They who run must read, his love for his King and his country, his spotless honour and honesty, exalted sense of duty, God-like presence of mind, self-relying courage in danger, serene equanimity in reverse or victory, his lofty contempt of calumniators, his self-denial and scrupulous consideration of others, his sagacity and forethought, his unsparing intense labour of body and mind, and last, but not least, his modesty and simplicity. He used his words to explain, not to conceal his thoughts"[1]

[1] *The Publication of the Despatches.*—The thanks of the world for the Duke's Despatches are mainly due to Mrs. Arbuthnot, the wife of his faithful Achates: she first suggested the printing and publishing of these

Since the date of these remarks, a supplementary series of the military and diplomatic despatches and the 'Civil Correspondence' of his illustrious ancestor has been edited and published by his son, the late Duke. Of the latter series which deals with the Duke's official, ministerial and private life, and illustrates his opinions and acts as a statesman, administrator and gentleman, I have been permitted, by the present Duke, to make the fullest use, with what result will be judged in the sections dealing with his political career and private life.

Of the 'Civil Correspondence' (on which I have so greatly relied), edited by the late Duke, eight volumes have been published, since which the publication has been unfortunately suspended, thus closing these invaluable records at the year 1832. Of a ninth volume the greater portion has been for some time in type, but its publication withheld from the fear of giving pain to the relations of those persons whose conduct might be affected by its revelations. The magnificent material for the political and domestic history of his time

---

documents, to which the Duke objected for a little—but he at last took up the idea, and pronounced Colonel Gurwood, who happened to be present, as "good as any one else to superintend the operation." The real editor, however, was the Duke himself; he read all in proof, and corrected every page, text and margin, with his own hand. The papers were originally set into type exactly as they had been written, but their illustrious editor, always considerate for others, struck out all the names and every sentence which might give pain, and to such an extent that matter for six additional volumes was, it is said, cancelled. The typographical duty was so honourably conducted by Messrs. Clowes, that neither the head of that vast establishment, nor Mr. Murray who published the book, ever possessed or even saw the proof sheets. One copy alone exists of the entire work, and it consists of the identical sheets marked by the Duke's revising-pen. When personal considerations cease to operate, and history can fairly claim its right, the publication of these sealed volumes will more completely show the writer's genius and the inadequacy of the means by which so great ends were accomplished. "Then," as he remarked himself, "when my papers are read, many statutes will have to be taken down."—*Quarterly Review*, 1853.

still remains untouched in the stores of Apsley House—the letters of each year contained in a separate box. May we hope that under due surveillance, and with every care for the reputations of those with and about whom this voluminous correspondence was carried on, the present possessor of this invaluable treasure may be induced to continue the series commenced by his predecessor.

First among the other reliable authorities stand the recollections and correspondence of Mr. J. Wilson Croker, not only in the 'MSS. Conversations with the Duke,' quoted in the *Quarterly Review* of March 1853, but in the fuller records in his lately published 'Letters and Diary,' of which I have to thank Mr. Murray for allowing me the use.[1]

Next in value and fulness come the recollections contained in the 'Journal' of Mr. F. S. Larpent, who was Judge Advocate of the army during the greater portion of the Peninsular War. These recollections, printed by his family from his private correspondence, and edited by Sir G. Larpent, "report the sayings and doings of the leading military men, from day to day, with apparently the most complete openness and accuracy."[2]

The anecdotes and notices contained in 'The Journal' of Mr. Thomas Raikes, claim every respect. From the year

[1] Mr J. Wilson Croker's recollections of the Duke extend from the year 1808,—when, on leaving for his first expedition to Portugal, General Wellesley confided to Mr. Croker a portion of his duties as Secretary for Ireland,—to his last interview with the Duke within a few weeks of his death.—Croker's 'Correspondence and Diaries,' 2nd edition, J. Murray, 1885.

[2] In 1812 Mr. F. S. Larpent was tempted by the Honourable Manners Sutton (then Judge Advocate General) to leave his practice at the Bar, and accept the post of Judge Advocate General to the armies in Spain under Wellington. He joined them in September 1812 and remained with them until 1814. Mr. Larpent in 1815 and 1820 was employed in enquiries abroad into the conduct of Queen Caroline and was made chairman of the Board of Audit of the Customs in 1824; he died in 1843.

1832, he was the constant and valued correspondent of the Duke, and in the year 1843, for some time, his guest at Walmer Castle, where the majority of the anecdotes recorded by him were told by the Duke. From him we have a full account of the Duke's daily life in the year 1843.[1]

Lord William Lennox also furnishes many characteristic anecdotes relative to the last three years of the great war. On the Duke's appointment as ambassador to Louis XVIII., in the year 1814, Lord William was attached to his staff as an unpaid attaché; accompanied him to Paris and to the Congress of Vienna; was with him on the field of Waterloo, and made an extra aide-de-camp on the vacancy caused by the death of Gordon.[2]

Among the other authorities which I have cited, I have especially to thank Lady Charles Wellesley for her interesting account of the last day of the Duke's life, and the veteran statesman, Lord Malmesbury, for the permission he so readily accorded to me, to make the fullest use of his Diary.[3] For the quotations from the unpublished Diary of Lord Broughton (Sir John Cam Hobhouse) I am indebted

[1] Mr. Thomas Raikes, the son and partner of a rich and respected London merchant, greatly interested in estates in the West Indies, suffered so severely from the failure of the West India interests, that he removed with his daughter to Paris in 1832. From thence he constantly corresponded with the Duke, who, to judge from his replies to his friend's letters, entertained a very high opinion of his judgment and the accuracy of his information, and who endeavoured in vain to obtain for him some consular post abroad. In 1843 Mr. Raikes and his daughter stayed with the Duke at Walmer Castle. He died in 1848 in his 72nd year.

His journal and recollections of social and political life in London and Paris were published in 1827, in four volumes (Longmans), and his private correspondence with the Duke, Count Matascewitz, Lords Alvanley, Glengall and Rokeby and Mr. C. G. Greville in the following year.

[2] 'Recollections of Three Years with the Duke of Wellington.' 1 vol. Saunders and Otley, Lond. 1853.

[3] 'Memoirs of an Ex-statesman—An Autobiography.' New edition. 1 vol. Longmans, 1885.

to a review of it in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1871—for others to the article in the *Quarterly Review* of 1853, on "Apsley House and its Treasures," and to that in the same review of 1857, on the Despatches edited by Colonel Gurwood, and to Messrs. Blackwood for some characteristic anecdotes of the Duke, in Lieut.-Colonel Ramsay's 'Rough Recollections.'[1]

Notwithstanding the unfortunate party bias that pervades Mr. C. Greville's statements about the Duke, I should have been glad to have quoted two or three of them, referring to the time when his brother Algernon was the Duke's private secretary, could I have obtained permission. I have, however, thought it right, on authority, to contradict the gossip which he records of the fear entertained by the Duke's family of his intention of marrying in his later years. Otherwise, my extracts from Mr. G. Greville's Diary are limited to foot-notes.

For other illustrations I am indebted to M. Maurel's 'Life of Wellington';[2] M. Lanfrey's well-known 'History of Napoleon,'[3] so unfortunataly brought to a premature close, ere little more than half done, by the author's early death; and to the manly and straightforward accounts of the closing scenes of the great war, given in General Von Muffling's 'Passages from my Life.'[4] These are especially valuable as Von Muffling was the representative of the Prussian army, at the Duke's head-quarters in Belgium, and afterwards commandant of Paris during the occupation of that city by the Allies. I am

[1] 'Rough Recollections of Military Service and Society' by Lt.-Col. Balcarres R. W. Ramsay—a most interesting record of an active military career, especially in India during the Sikh War and the Mutiny. 2 vols. Blackwoods, 1852.

[2] Jules Maurel. 'Le Duc de Wellington.' 1853.

[3] P. Lanfrey. 'Napoleon Ier.' 4 vols. 1854.

[4] General von Muffling. 'Passages from my Life, together with Memoirs of the Campaigns of 1813 and 1814.' 1853.

permitted also to extract the graphic account of the Duke's arrangements for meeting the great Chartist Rising in 1848, and to make a couple of extracts from the 'Life and Letters of the Right Honourable J. C. Herries,' lately published by his sons.

In quoting from these varied authorities, I have endeavoured to give the statements in the words of their authors, noting in such cases where, from their length, I have given the substance only.

In endeavouring to arrange the anecdotes in chronological order, so as practically to give a biography of the Great Duke mainly in his own words, I have thought it more convenient to group together the illustrations of the same subject-matter under one head, though referring to different periods. The main groups are of "His Care for the Wounded"; "The Conduct of the Spanish Troops"; "His Opinion of Napoleon on Sundry Points of War"; "The Growth of his Views on Catholic Emancipation,"; "His Kindness and Charities"; "His Views on the Qualifications for Unpaid Magistrates"; and "His Opinions of some of his Contemporaries."

I cannot conclude this abstract of the leading contents of this volume, without thanking Lieut.-Colonel Coxon, the present Duke's private secretary, for the valuable assistance he has rendered to me.

The running comment, by which the anecdotes are connected, makes no claim to being a biography—it is merely a plain frame for the pictures by better artists.

Besides a few maps of operations on the Peninsula, I have been able to give two facsimiles of the Duke's handwriting, the first in 1831, by the permission of the present Duke; the last in the year 1851—the year before the Duke's death, by the kindness of the Reverend C. Allix Wilkinson, the author of 'The Reminiscences of the Times and Court of King Ernest of Hanover,' to whom he was chaplain. I also give

a copy of a most characteristic sketch of the Duke as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, made in the Theatre by the wife of a Fellow of St. John's College, and published in 1834 by Ryman of Oxford, and of which I am fortunate enough to have one of the few copies that have been preserved.

G. Lathom Browne.

Athenæum Club,
Waterloo Day, 1888.

WELLINGTON.

PART I.

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF ARTHUR, DUKE OF WELLINGTON. MILITARY, DIPLOMATIC, AND POLITICAL.

CHAPTER I.—1769–1809.

First Commission—M.P. for Trim—India—Seringapatam—Assaye—Interview with Lord Nelson—Copenhagen—Fear of Buonaparte in Europe—Dry Nurses—First Expedition to Portugal—Vimiero—The French Army—Convention of Cintra—Marshal Junot—Sir John Moore and Buonaparte.

First Commission.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, the fourth son of Baron Mornington, was born on May 1, 1769; in due time sent to Eton, where his elder brother, the future Marquis Wellesley, had already obtained distinction; and, after a short stay there, transferred to the Military School at Angers, in France, then under the care of the celebrated Pignerol. In his eighteenth year (1787) he received his first commission in the 73rd Regiment of Foot, and from his entrance into his new career showed a most practical determination to fit himself for it by mastering the most minute details of the service. "Within a few days after I joined my first regiment," he told a friend in later years, "I caused a private soldier to be weighed—first in full marching order, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, &c.; and afterwards without them—compared him with the weight he had to carry and the work he was expected to do." When his friend expressed surprise at such early thoughtfulness he

replied, "Why, I was not so young as not to know that since I had undertaken a profession I had better endeavour to understand it." He then added, "It must always be kept in mind that the power of armies depends upon what the individual soldier is capable of doing and bearing."[1] With a similar determination of devoting himself to his profession, some years after, before he obtained a command, he burnt his violin, on which he was no mean proficient and delighted to play, and gave up card-playing. How this studied attention to his profession affected those under his command is told by M. Maurel when speaking of his first campaign in India in 1799. "To his natural gifts he added a most indefatigable and intelligent application to his duties. It was his habitual practice to descend into the most minute details." "The regiment of Colonel Wellesley" (33rd), said Lord Harris, the commander-in-chief at the siege of Seringapatam, "is a model regiment: for equipment, for courage, for discipline, for good conduct, it is above all praise."

Wellesley in the last Irish Parliament.

As soon as he was of age Wellesley obtained a seat in the last Irish Parliament for the family borough of Trim, in which the portrait of the youthful member is thus sketched by Mr. Froude:—

"At the General Election for Ireland in 1789 the novel feature of the new House was the introduction into it, of three men who in their several ways were to become notable. Robert Stewart, the future Castlereagh, for Down; Arthur Wesley, or Wellesley, for Trim; and Arthur O'Connor for Philiptown." "In the session of 1793 the Address to the Crown was moved by Lord Tyrone. The seconder was the younger son of Lord Mornington, Major Arthur Wellesley, who on this occasion made his first plunge into public life.

[1] MS. conversations with the Duke in later years, quoted in the review of M. Maurel's Life of the Duke in *Quarterly Review*, March 1853; repeated in Mr. Croker's diary, where the statement about the abandonment of violin and card-playing is added on the authority of a Colonel Shaw, a great friend of the Duke.

His speech was brief but characteristic. He expressed no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics. He advised the House to approach the subject with moderation and dignity; but he stepped out of his way to applaud Westmoreland (the Lord-Lieutenant) for his firmness in preventing men calling themselves National Guards from appearing in military array." "At the close of the same session he acted as teller for the Bill suppressing the proposed convention."[1]

Rising rapidly through the various grades in the army,[2] in 1794, as lieutenant-colonel of the 33rd, he joined the forces under the command of the Duke of York in Flanders, and in the next year led three battalions of that unfortunate army on its retreat to their embarkation for England. In the autumn of the same year he embarked in the squadron of Admiral Christian for the West Indies, which, fortunately for Europe, was driven back by stress of weather, and his regiment diverted to India, where his elder brother was about to succeed Sir John Shore as Governor-General. In this new field his rare abilities were soon proved. In 1798 Colonel Wellesley was made commandant of the contingent of the Nizam, to which his own regiment was attached, and on the outbreak of the war with Tippoo Sahib placed under the

[1] Froude's 'Ireland,' vol. iii., pp. 33, 92, 129. On the motion of Mr. G. Knox to admit Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament, "It is a remarkable fact," says Mr. Lecky, "that the future Duke of Wellington was put forward by the Government as its chief opponent. 'He had,' said the speaker, 'no objection to giving the Roman Catholics the benefit of the constitution, and in his opinion the Bill (admitting them to vote at elections, and opening to them the professions) conferred on them these in an ample degree, but the motion of the Honourable Gentleman seemed calculated to promote disunion. With the Bill as it stands the Protestants are satisfied, and the Roman Catholics contented. Why then agitate a question which may disturb both?'" Lecky's 'History of 18th Century,' vol. vi. 375.

[2] Lieutenant, December 23, 1787; captain, June 30, 1791; major, April 30, 1793; lieutenant-colonel, September 30, 1793; colonel, May 3, 1796; major-general, April 29, 1802; lieutenant-general, April 25, 1808; general, July 31, 1811; field-marshal, June 21, 1813. These dates are given by anticipation, to save repetitions.

orders of Lord Harris, the commander-in-chief. At the siege of Seringapatam Colonel Wellesley did good service in two assaults, and on the day of its capture commanded the reserve in the trenches. On the fall of the fortress he was selected by Lord Harris for its command—a subject of sore disappointment to Sir David Baird, who had led the attack. Favouritism to the brother of the Governor-General was not unnaturally assigned as the reason for the appointment. The true reason is disclosed in the following letter:—

The Governorship of Seringapatam.

"I have often heard of his dissatisfaction on my appointment to take the command at Seringapatam, where he had commanded the successful storm of the town. I was not employed, having been appointed to command the reserve in the trenches. Of course I could have nothing to say to the selection of myself, as I was in the trenches, or rather in the town, when I received the order to take the command of it and instructions to endeavour to restore order. Baird was a gallant, hard-headed, lion-hearted officer; but he had no talent, *no tact;* had strong prejudices against the natives, and he was peculiarly disqualified from his manner, habits, and it was supposed his temper, for the management of them. He had been Tippoo's prisoner for years. He had a strong feeling of the bad usage which he had received during his captivity; and it is not impossible that the knowledge of this feeling might have induced Lord Harris and those who advised him to lay him aside. There were many other candidates for Baird's appointment, senior to me, and some senior to Baird. But I must say that I was the fit person to be selected. I had commanded the Nizam's army during the campaign and had given universal satisfaction. I was liked by the natives. It is certainly true that this command afforded me the opportunities for distinction and opened the road to fame, which poor Baird always thought was by this same act closed upon him. Notwithstanding this he and I

were always on the best of terms, and I don't believe that there is a man who rejoiced more sincerely than he did in my ulterior successes."[1]

The following statement by Sir John Malcolm in 1832 fully justifies the concluding paragraphs of the above letter :—

Wellesley and Sir David Baird.

"I never saw Baird," wrote Sir John Malcolm, November 21, 1832, "from 1803, when he spoke thus sorely about Wellesley being so often, as he called it, 'put over his head,' until ten years afterwards, when I met him in Hyde Park. He came up with open hand and heart, saying, 'Times are changed. No one knows so well as you how severely I felt the preference given on several occasions to your friend Wellesley; but I now see all these things in a far different point of view. It is the highest pride of my life that anybody should ever have dreamed of my being put into the balance with him. His fame is now to me joy, and I may almost say, glory; and his kindness to me and mine' (he alluded, I believe, particularly to the Duke's attention to his nephew, Sir Alex. Gordon, afterwards killed at Waterloo) 'has all along been most distinguished. I know both himself and myself now.'"[2]

For the two following years Colonel Wellesley's duties were rather civil than military in the settlement of the Mysore territories. At various times he was, indeed, named for the command of other expeditions, and but for his temporary illness would have commanded that to Egypt (1801) which Sir David Baird led. It was, however, at this period of his career that he defeated the Mahratta freebooter Dhoondiah Waugh, by whose death this predatory war was closed, and by a forced march of great length seized Poonah

[1] The Duke to Mr. Croker, January 24, 1831, 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series.

[2] Quoted in note to review of the first series of Duke's 'Despatches' in *Quarterly Review*, June 1834.

before Scindia could interfere for its defence,[1] and replaced the Peishwar on his throne. Then followed the war with the Mahrattas, in which, after the capture of Ahmednuggar and Baroach, he fought the battle of Assaye, by which the power of the great chiefs of that warlike nation was utterly broken. In this most important victory the forces of General Wellesley were perilously outnumbered, and but for the passage of the River Kaitna, as described by him in the following anecdote, in great peril:—[2]

The Battle of Assaye.

"I was indebted for my success at Assaye to a very ordinary exercise of common sense. The Mahratta chiefs whom I was marching to overtake had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming force of native cavalry. To get rid of these gentlemen and to get at the others I had no chance but getting over the river also; but my native guides all assured me that the river was impassable at this part, and the superior force of the enemy would not permit me to have it examined. I was rather puzzled; but at last I resolved to see what I could of the river myself, and so with the most intelligent of my guides and an escort of (I think) all my cavalry I pushed forward till I could see with my glass one village on the right or near bank of the river, and another village exactly opposite on the other bank, and I immediately said to myself that men could not have built two villages so close to one another on opposite sides of a stream without some habitual means of communication

[1] April 19, 1803. This and another long march after the battle of Ahmednuggar, August 11, 1803, are described in his letter to Henry Wellesley, January 24, 1804, 'Wellington Despatches,' 1st series.

[2] The English forces consisted of 8,000 infantry, 1,600 cavalry, and 17 pieces of artillery, whilst on the side of the Mahratta chiefs were 10,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 100 pieces of ordnance. So decided, however, was their defeat that they lost nearly all their guns, ammunition, and baggage, and fled in such confusion that they reached Burampore with hardly 200 out of all their imposing forces.

either by boats or a ford—most probably by the latter. My guides still persisted that there were neither; but on my own conjecture, or rather reasoning, I took the desperate, as it seemed, resolution of marching for the river. And I was right: I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it thereabouts, on which Assaye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the battle, the bloodiest for the numbers that I ever saw, and this was all from the common-sense guessing that men did not build villages on the opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."[1]

Notwithstanding, however, the severity of this defeat, it was not until after another severe engagement near Munkaiser, in February 1804, that the war was brought to a close on the part of some predatory chiefs, whom he there defeated by the aid of this the longest of his long marches in India.

Long Marches in India.

"I once marched in India 70 miles in what I may call one march—it was after Assaye—to the borders of the Nizam's territory, against a body of predatory natives, whom by this extraordinary march I surprised in their camp. I moved one morning about 4 o'clock and marched till noon, when I had rest till about 8 in the evening, by which time I had marched 25 miles. At eight we moved again, and did not stop till 12 midday, when I was in the enemy's camp, distant 70 miles from my first point. And these were not computed miles, nor am I talking by guess, for the whole march was measured by the wheel. I had 5 regiments, 2 European and 3 native, and 2 regiments of regular cavalry, in all about 5,000 men, with a large body of native irregular

[1] MS. notes of conversation with the Duke, *Quarterly Review*, March 1853. Repeated with slight variations, Croker's 'Diary,' vol. i., p. 353.

horse. The native horse are about equal to the Cossacks. I had before Assaye made another forced march to Poonah; but it was not so far, hardly 60 miles, and I took more time to do it, but it was a surprising march; but this was with cavalry alone."[1]

For another year Major-General Wellesley continued to exercise the civil and military powers vested in him. These he resigned in February 1805, preparatory to his embarkation for England, where he arrived in the September of that year. It was at this time that he had the interview with Lord Nelson—the only one that ever occurred between these distinguished warriors. This has hitherto been laid as at the Admiralty, and so reported as to give the idea that Wellesley held but a mean opinion of the hero of the Nile. When and where that interview took place was related by the Duke in 1834 to Mr. Croker.

Interview with Lord Nelson.

"We were talking about Lord Nelson, and some instances were mentioned of the egotism and vanity that derogated from his character. 'Why,' said the Duke, 'I am not surprised at such instances, for Lord Nelson was in different circumstances quite two different men, as I myself can vouch, though I only saw him once in my life, and for, perhaps, an hour. It was soon after I returned from India. I went to the Colonial Office, in Downing Street, and there I was shown into the little waiting-room on the right hand, where I found, also waiting to see the Secretary of State, a gentleman whom, from his likeness to his pictures and the loss of an arm, I immediately recognised as Lord Nelson. He could not know who I was, but he entered at once into conversation with me, if I can call it conversation, for it was almost all on his side and all about himself, and in really a style so vain and silly as to surprise and disgust me. I suppose that something that I happened to say may

[1] J. W. Croker, Strathfieldsaye, March 25, 1834.

have made him guess that I was *somebody*, and he went out of the room for a moment—I have no doubt to ask the office-keeper who I was, for, when he came back, he was altogether a different man, both in manner and matter. All that I had thought a charlatan style had vanished, and he talked of the state of this country and the aspect and probabilities of affairs on the Continent with a good sense and a knowledge of subjects, both at home and abroad, that surprised me equally and more agreeably than the first part of our interview had done. In fact, he talked like an officer and a statesman. The Secretary of State kept us long waiting, and certainly for the last half or three-quarters of an hour, I don't know that I ever had a conversation that interested me more. Now if the Secretary of State had been punctual, and admitted Lord Nelson in the first quarter of an hour, I should have had the same impression of a light and trivial character that other people have had, but luckily I saw enough to be satisfied that he really was a very superior man; but certainly a more sudden and complete metamorphosis I never saw.' "[1]

On his arrival in England Wellesley was appointed to a command in the expedition to Hanover, and on his return made a Privy Councillor, and sent to Ireland as Chief Secretary to the Government of the Duke of Richmond. In 1807, however, his services were required in Lord Cathcart's expedition to Copenhagen, which was brought to a successful termination by the battle of Kioge (August 19, 1807). In relation to this expedition the following anecdotes may be quoted :—

The Battle of Kioge.

" When I was about to attack Kioge, which had a ditch and a wall, and might have given me trouble, I detached—what

[1] To J. W. Croker, Strathfieldsaye, Oct. 1, 1834. 'Diary,' ii. 233.

Nelson reached Spithead from his long chase to the West Indies on August 18, 1805, and rehoisted his flag on September 13, joined the fleet off Cadiz September 21, and fell at Trafalgar October 21.

was his name?—Leisingen with a couple of regiments of German cavalry to pass the river by a ford some way on my right to turn the town and alarm the enemy for his communications, and so force my attack. But he was afraid of risking his cavalry, and remained on the bank of the river, and, though I repeated the orders by several messengers, he could not be got to move. If he had done so, the thing would have given no trouble; but he was afraid. However, we took the place, for the Danes made but a poor resistance; indeed I believe they were only new-raised men —militia."[1]

The Fear of Buonaparte in all Europe.

"When I was in Zealand, and after I had won the battle of Kioge, there was a Danish gentleman—one indeed, I believe, of the ministers, or who had been in office—a Count Rosencrantz, who had a country-house in the neighbourhood. I met him by accident one day, and, when he told me his name, I almost felt that he was an old acquaintance, and might have asked for our friend 'Guildenstern.' But, seriously, I found him a well-bred and very sensible man, and, as we seemed mutually pleased with our conversation, we walked together in the wood for above two hours, talking of the state of Europe. When we were about to part, I told him that I would not ask him to dine with me, as I was in a wretched inn and with no household, nor any means of giving him a dinner; but that, if he would allow me, I should go and dine with him. He said 'No;' he would rather be excused. 'Even this accidental walk in a wood might perhaps,' he said, 'be reported at Paris, with its exact duration, and he would be called upon to report every word of it, at least as much as he pleased of it, and as would fill up the time, and, that if he were to receive me at dinner,

[1] Croker, Conversation, Walmer, 1831. 'Diary,' ii. 120.

the consequences might be serious.' He added that he would call and pay me a visit of ceremony, and that when I came to return the visit, would take care to be in the way, and we then might have another conversation; but anything like intimacy would compromise him and his sovereign, and he therefore begged of me, as a private favour, to avoid any appearance of it."[1]

It was in this expedition that Wellesley was first subjected to the presence of a "dry nurse" in the form of a second in command, the Horse Guards having as little faith in the "Sepoy General" as the French afterwards professed. How he dealt with these persons was characteristically told to Mr. Croker by the Duke in 1826.

Major-General Wellesley and the Horse Guards.

"The Horse Guards never showed me any favour from the first day I had command until this hour (1826)—thought little of an Indian victory, rather a ground of suspicion than confidence. Because I was an M.P. they thought I must be a politician and could not be a soldier; they looked on me as a sprig of nobility, come into the army for ornament and no use. Could not believe that I was a tolerable regimental officer. I have proof that they thought I could not be trusted alone with a division, and I suspect they still doubt whether I know anything about the command of an army, for I dare say you will be surprised to hear that in all the changes made since the war in the regulations of the army, I have never been consulted on any point. As to dress, I say nothing; though that is a matter on which one who had dressed so large an army for so long might have some experience as to what would wear best and be most convenient and healthy." [The Duke then instanced his not being consulted on the proposed establishment of cuirassiers and lancers, or the new book of manœuvres and movements.]

[1] Croker, Walmer, May 1831. 'Diary,' ii. 120.

"When the Horse Guards are obliged to employ one of those fellows like me, in whom they have no confidence, they give him what they call a 'second in command'—one in whom they have confidence—kind of dry nurse. When I went to Zealand they gave me General Stewart as second in command—that is, intended in reality for first command, though I was first in name. Well, during the embarkation, the voyage out, and the disembarkation General Stewart did everything. I saw no objection to what he suggested; all went *à merveille.* At last however, we came up with the enemy. Stewart, as usual, was beginning his suggestions and arrangements, but I stopped him short with, 'Come, come, 'tis my turn now.' I immediately made my own dispositions, assigned him the command of one of the wings, gave him his orders, attacked the enemy and beat them.[1] Stewart, like a man of sense, saw in a moment that I understood my business and subsided (as far as I saw) with good humour into his proper place. But this did not cure the Horse Guards. When I went to Portugal they gave me Sir Brent Spencer as second in command, but I came to an explanation with him. I told him I did not know what the words 'second in command' meant any more than third or fourth or fifth in command; I alone commanded the army, that the other general officers commanded their divisions; that if anything happened to me the senior survivor would take the command; that in contemplation of such a possibility I would treat them, but him in particular, as next in succession, with the most entire confidence, and would leave none of my views or intentions unexplained; but that I would have no second in command in the sense of his having

[1] Expedition to Copenhagen, 1807, under the command of Lord Cathcart, in which Wellesley had the command of the reserve, and so materially by his able manœuvres aided the surrender of the Danes that special thanks were voted to him by Parliament for his share in the expedition.

anything like a joint command or superintending control; and that finally and above all I would not only take but would insist upon the whole and undivided responsibility of all that should happen while the army was under my command."[1]

Portugal—Vimiero.

But now the time had arrived for Wellesley to be transferred from his civil duties in Ireland to the scene of his great exploits. The Government had decided to send an army to Spain in aid of the Spaniards, who were hard pressed by the French in their struggle for freedom, and to Wellesley the command was entrusted. On July 12, 1808, the first instalment of that army, which rested not from its task until it stood victorious on the soil of France, sailed from Cork, and effected a landing in Mondego Bay, on the coast of Portugal, in which country Marshal Junot held the command of the French army of occupation. Of the usually victorious armies of France Wellesley had had no experience since the disastrous war in Holland. What he thought of them and of their new tactics was thus told, on the eve of embarkation, to his friend Mr. Croker, to whom he handed over the care of his Irish department:—

Lieut.-General Wellesley on the French Army.

"In the course of a conversation with Croker when leaving him in charge of the Irish business of the Secretary's office the Duke said, 'Why, to say the truth, I was thinking of the French that I am going to fight. I have not seen them since the campaign in Flanders, when they were capital soldiers, and a dozen years of successes must have made them better still. They have beaten all the world, and are supposed to be invincible. They have besides, it seems, a new system which has outmanœuvred and overwhelmed all the armies of Europe. But no matter. My

[1] Croker, Conversation, 1826. 'Diary,' i. 342.

die is cast; they may overwhelm me, but I don't think they will outmanœuvre me;—in the first place, because I am not afraid of them, as everybody else appears to be; and secondly, because if what I hear of their system of manœuvres be true, I think it a false one against troops steady enough, as I hope mine will be, to receive them with the bayonet. I suspect that all the Continental armies were more than half beaten before the battle was begun. I at least will not be frightened beforehand.' "[1]

He was soon to put his opinion to a practical test. Ten days after he had landed his troops he met the enemy, and, after two minor but successful engagements at Obidos and Roliça, fought the battle of Vimiero.

The Battle of Vimiero.

"The French came on at Vimiero with more confidence, and seemed to feel their way less than (smiling) I always found them to do afterwards. They came on in their usual way, a very heavy column, and I received them in line, which they were not accustomed to, and we repulsed them three several times, and at last they went off beaten on all points, while I had half the army untouched and ready to pursue. But Sir Harry Burrard, who had joined the army in the middle of the battle, but seeing all doing so well, had desired me to continue in the command, said, now that he considered the battle as won (though I thought it was but half done) resolved to push it no further. I begged very hard that he would go on, but he said enough had been done. Indeed if he had come earlier, the battle would not have taken place at all. For when I waited on him, on board the frigate in the bay, the evening before, he desired me to suspend all operations, and said he could do nothing until he had collected all the force which he knew to be on the way. He had heard of Moore's

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March 1853, p. 517.

arrival. But the French luckily resolving to attack us, led to a different result. I came from the frigate about nine at night, and went to my own quarters with the army, which from the nearness of the enemy, I naturally kept on the alert. Towards morning, a fellow rushed in to my bedside—a German sergeant or quartermaster—in a great fright—so great that his hair seemed actually to stand on end—who told me the enemy was advancing rapidly, and would be soon upon us. I immediately sent word to the generals to order them to get the troops under arms, and soon after eight o'clock we were vigorously attacked. The enemy were first met by the 50th, not a good looking regiment, but devilish steady—who received them admirably and brought them to a full stop immediately, and soon drove them back. Then they tried two other attacks, as I told you, very serious, through a valley on our left; but they were defeated everywhere, and completely repulsed, and in full retreat by noon, so that we had time enough to have finally finished them if I could have persuaded Sir Harry Burrard to go on."[1]

The Convention of Cintra.

It is needless to go into details, already so well known, of the miserably faulty arrangements of the Horse Guards, by which Sir H. Burrard came to supersede Wellesley on the eve of Vimiero, and was superseded himself by Sir Hew Dalrymple after the close of the action. Five days after this victory the Convention of Cintra was signed by this new commander, and its immediate fruits thrown away. In the odium with which the intelligence of this convention was received in England, Wellesley had his full share. In reality, however, he took no part in it, though he did not hesitate to defend its chief conditions.[2]

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March 1853, p. 518.

[2] "Public opinion," says Maurel, "in England pronounced itself against this Convention with incredible fury. Nay, one journal was mad enough

His Defence of the Convention of Cintra.

"The French," said he, "had not only the capital, they had Elvas, Almeida, Palmela, and Santarem—all places that would have required sieges—as also Peniche and the forts St. Julian and Cascaes, without the possession of which our ships could not enter the Tagus—the season of bad weather was fast approaching, these places must have been regularly invested, and on the whole the entire evacuation of the capital, the strong places, the forts, and the kingdom was all that the most sanguine could have desired. I am disinterested in giving this opinion, for I had nothing whatsoever to do with the terms of the Convention. I had signed the armistice indeed, but had no more to do with the Convention than any other general officer in the army. When I heard what was going on I took the liberty to advise against one or two points, but I found that my superiors disregarded my advice, so I had no more to say."[1]

"There was a pretty general desire in England that a

---

to exhibit at the head of its columns three *gibbets*, on which were hung three generals (Sir H. Burrard, Sir Hew Dalrymple, and General Wellesley). The first two had been successively sent out to supersede the last. On the morning after the battle Sir Hew assumed the chief command, recommended to put more than the usual confidence in the skill and knowledge of Wellesley. He determined to advance, but the opportunity was lost, as the French had retired to a strong position. At Vimiero, the first serious encounter with the French—Roliça being but a small affair—they lost 2,000 men, besides 14 cannon, and had one of their generals taken prisoner."

"It was called the Convention of Cintra because after it had been signed at Lisbon by Sir Hew Dalrymple it was sent home by him in a letter dated Cintra. The room and the table at Cintra where it was said to be signed is a fictitious relic, with its blot from Wellesley's pen. Wellesley never signed it."—Sir F. Pollock, 'Reminiscences,' vol. ii. 260.

[1] The same reasons are given in full detail in the 'Address and Narratives' laid before the Court of Inquiry into the Convention. 'Gurwood's Selected Despatches,' No. 267.

general should be shot, after the manner of Admiral Byng, and as I was a politician, the other two not being in Parliament, I was of course the person to be shot. It would have been rather hard, as I was the winner of two battles which had raised the public hopes so high, and had nothing to do with subsequent proceedings but as a subordinate negotiator under orders of my superior officers. Even the Government seemed inclined to give me up. When I came back here, the old King was to have one of his weekly levées. As I must present myself on my return from abroad, and happened to have no carriage in town, I asked Lord Castlereagh to carry me in his coach to the levée. Castlereagh, after some hesitation, but in a friendly tone, said there was so much ill-humour in the public mind, that it might produce inconvenience, and advised me not to go. I said, 'When I first mentioned it, I only thought it a matter of respect and duty to the King, I now look upon it as a matter of self-respect and duty to my own character, and I, therefore, insist on knowing whether this advice proceeds in any degree from his Majesty; and I wish you distinctly to understand that I will go to the levée to-morrow, or I never go to a levée in my life.' Castlereagh immediately withdrew all opposition. I went, and was exceedingly well received by the King."[1]

Of his late antagonist, the Duke in later years gave the following characteristic anecdote.

Wellesley and Marshal Junot.

"I had Junot in my front for a long time with his army. It was, I think, near St. Herem that we came to blows, and I gave him a good beating. He was himself wounded in the head. The next day I sent to enquire after his health, *as a lesson of the old school*, and sent also a present of fruit, which he acknowledged a few days later. I afterwards for-

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March 1853.

warded to him some intercepted letters from his wife, who was then somewhere in the rear, and of whom, it appeared, he was extremely jealous; for I recollect they were full of complaints, and asking him what name she should give to a child she was going to produce, but always stipulating that it should begin with 'A.' She afterwards retired to France, when Junot's army was getting in a worse plight, and I intercepted another letter from her, in which there was this remarkable expression. 'I am going to your father's at Bourgoyen, and remain some time there. I dare not go to Paris, as I don't know what to say to the Emperor about your campaign which has been so unfortunate.' I had the intention to forward him also this letter. I dined with Junot at Cintra, who received me in a vulgar, swaggering manner, trying to imitate Napoleon, which he could not do, but at the same time never losing an opportunity of throwing out some sly insinuation against him."[1]

After the signature of the convention, Wellesley returned to England, gave evidence before the Court of Enquiry, and then resumed his post at Dublin.

Sir John Moore. Corunna.

General Wellesley did not remain long at home. In November 1808, Napoleon, convinced by the state of affairs in Spain and Portugal, and by the progress of Sir John Moore, in command of the English army, who had advanced as far as Salamanca, crossed the Pyrenees with an army of 200,000 men, rapidly recovered the positions lost by his marshals, including Madrid, and forced Sir John to retreat towards the coast. As soon, however, as he had arrived at

[1] Raikes, Walmer, 1843, iv. 311.

Junot, better known through his wife's memoirs as D. d'Abrantes, was the most unsuccessful of Napoleon's generals, a vain-boaster, reckless in his life, but brave to a fault. After a very troubled career, in which, more than once, he for a time lost the favour of Napoleon, he destroyed himself in 1813, when under the influence of fever, by throwing himself out of a window.

Astorga, with apparently unexplained haste, Napoleon left the command of his troops to Soult and hurried back to Paris. What Wellesley thought of this sudden move he stated to Mr. Croker in 1826.[1]

Buonaparte and Sir John Moore. An Enigma in Buonaparte's Career.

"There is something in Buonaparte's hasty return out of Spain (in December and January 1808–9) that I have never understood. When Moore retreated he followed him closely as far as Benevento and Astorga. He had a greatly superior force, two to one he gave out, and I should have thought, as he was so anxious *de se frotter* himself against me, he would at that time have been still more anxious to have personally performed his threat of driving the leopards into the sea; but he stopped all of a sudden, committed the command of the armies to Soult, who pushed Moore as hard as he could, while Buonaparte returned to Valladolid, where he remained a week or ten days, doing nothing that we know of, whilst Soult was following Moore: and I think that it was on the very day that the battle of Corunna was fought, that Buonaparte set out from Valladolid for France, riding fast through Spain, and making a wonderfully rapid journey to Paris. The reason given for all this was that he had received news of the bad disposition of Austria, which rendered his presence in Paris very urgent. But that does not explain his quitting his army at Astorga when it had become in contact with Moore, and it was clear that they must

[1] Sir John had landed in Portugal August 1808, too late for the battle of Vimiero. After the convention he was put in command of a force of 5,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry, intended to co-operate with the Spanish armies in the north of the Peninsula. On the defeat of the Spaniards, misled by false intelligence, his forces got divided, and he was exposed to the assaults of the rapidly approaching French armies. Then, despairing of defending Portugal, he began his retreat to Corunna, and fell in the hour of victory, January, 1809.

soon fight a regular battle; and his returning to waste, as far as I can see, ten or fourteen days before he set out for Paris.

"Was he disinclined *de se frotter* against Moore? Did he wish that Soult should try what stuff our people were made of before he risked his own great reputation against us? or did he despair of driving us out of Corunna? and was the bad news from Vienna (he generally kept bad news a profound secret) now invented or promulgated to excuse his evident reluctance to follow us up? I cannot account for his having subtracted from the three weeks he spent in Spain after his return from Astorga, and the three months, that, I think, he spent in Paris, half-a-dozen days for so great an object as a victory over the English army won by himself in person. My own notion is that he was not sure of the victory. He was certainly at that time greatly displeased with Talleyrand and made him a *scène* on his arrival in Paris; and it is possible, and even probable, that the extreme haste of his return may have had some political cause, foreign or internal; but even this does not explain my difficulty of why he did not in person attack Moore, or at all events, why he was not rather with the army the ten days that he lingered at Valladolid."[1]

[1] Conversations with Croker. 'Beaudesert,' 1826, vol. i. pp. 354–5.

According to M. Lanfrey, nothing had occurred in France or Europe to justify Napoleon's halting at Astorga. "His real motive in halting was, that he no longer perceived any way of hindering the embarkation of the English. The decisive blow which he had announced with so much clamour had failed, and he did not care to go forty or fifty leagues further over terrible roads, merely to witness their escape, and to bring back, as the only trophy of so toilsome an expedition, 3,000 or 4,000 stragglers vanquished by intrigue rather than by the sword. He left this unenviable kind of success to Marshals Soult and Ney, and returned himself to Valladolid." Lanfrey's 'Napoleon,' vol. iii. p. 345.

CHAPTER II.—1809–1810.

Return to the Peninsula—Power of Sleeping at Will—Talavera—The Lines of Torres Vedras—Revelations of Movements of the Army by the English Newspapers—Massena and the Portuguese Ordenanza—Exchange of Prisoners—Newspaper Critics—The Effect of the Lines of Torres Vedras on the War.

Wellesley's Return to the Peninsula.

On the embarkation of the English troops at Corunna, the Spanish Junta fled to Cadiz, and made a fresh appeal for British assistance. The necessity of the case was admitted by our Government, a fresh expedition determined upon, and the command entrusted to General Wellesley. On April 22, 1809, for a second time he sailed for Portugal, landed his forces at Lisbon, and without delay marched to the north of Portugal, where Soult held the city of Oporto. How that city was captured, and the French forces driven in confusion over the frontier, need not be again described in detail. Soult for once was caught napping, the few boats were got from a station four miles up the river, and when it was too late Soult awoke to his danger. Though greatly impeded by the bad conduct and want of discipline of his troops, whom he at that time could only call a rabble, Wellesley marched into Spain, and at length, on July 20, formed a junction with the Spanish general Cuesta.[1] What with the obstinate pride of the Spanish general, and the meanness of the Junta in furnishing the supplies which they had so lavishly promised, further advance was not to be risked. At last, however, at

[1] It must be remembered that Don Gregorio della Cuesta was forced, under the threat of death, to join the Insurgents, who erected a gibbet in front of the balcony of his house in Valladolid (he was Captain-General of the Kingdom of Leon) and gave him the choice of joining the insurrection or being hung. Lanfrey's 'Napoleon,' vol. iv. p. 230.

the threat to return into Portugal, some of the Spanish promises having been at last fulfilled, the allies moved to the position of Talavera, and there awaited the attack of the enemy. On the eve of this battle we have the following anecdote of Wellesley's "power of sleeping at will":—

His Power of Sleeping at Will.

"Wednesday 18th (at breakfast). The Duke had hunted yesterday, and had ridden above fifty miles (æt. 68). Gurwood hoped he had slept after his long ride. This brought on some talk about sleep. 'I said I believed the power of sleeping at will went further towards making a great statesman or general than was commonly supposed, for without that power the mind would wear itself out; and the greater the genius the quicker it would go, if not duly repaired by sleep. I instanced Buonaparte and Mr. Pitt, as having the power of going to sleep at will, and Mr. Perceval.

"*Gurwood:* 'Sir, you can sleep when you will. Did you not sleep during the battle of Talavera?'

"'Oh, I know what you mean,' replied the Duke. 'I had a nap before the battle, but it was thus. I had appointed to meet Cuesta at a redoubt between the two armies, in order to concert our operations. Cuesta did not come at the appointed time, and I lay down in my cloak and slept till he came. Once when I had advanced with a couple of divisions in the neighbourhood of Salamanca (not at the time of the great battle), the French army were manœuvring, and I was tired and not sure but that I should be obliged to bring them to action, so I had a mind to get a little rest while I could. So I pointed out one of the enemy's corps to my staff, and told them that corps was going in such a direction, and would be seen by-and-by on such a point of the horizon, and I desired that when they should be seen there I should be called; and then I wrapped myself up in my cloak and slept soundly until I was called and told that the French

had reached the designated point. I luckily have the power, very generally, of going to sleep when I please.'"[1]

The victory of Talavera was in reality won by the British troops, which did not number more than 22,000 men of all ranks. The Spaniards, nearly equal in number, were worse than useless, as thousands of them fled without attempting to fight, and spread the news of defeat miles and miles in the rear. The victory, dearly gained by the loss of 6,000 of our men, killed and wounded, was due to the courage of our own troops, those of Cuesta, which stood their ground, contributing but little to the result. But now came the report that Soult was in force in the allied rear, and that the French, somewhat reinforced, were preparing to again advance. Wellesley decided to divide his army and give the choice to Cuesta of remaining to defend Talavera or move against Soult. He chose the former, and promised, if defeated, to rescue the wounded who were crowded there. Wellesley marched in search of Soult. Hardly had he left when news arrived that Cuesta, afraid to fight, had deserted his position, and followed the British, leaving 2,000 wounded to the mercy of the advancing enemy. Happily they had fallen into the hands of a brave and good man. Victor on reaching Talavera forced the Spaniards to receive the English and French wounded in their houses in equal numbers, and to attend to the English first. Retreat was now indispensable, as the French armies were assembling on all sides, the promised supplies again withheld, and the Spanish troops would neither fight nor enable their allies to fight for them. "They were really children in the art of war," wrote Wellesley, "and did nothing that ought to be done, with the exception of running away and assembling again in a state of nature." At last Sir Arthur crossed the frontier river and took up his quarters in the vicinity of Badajos. From that moment he would not be turned from a defensive system, despite the prayers of friends and the abuse of opponents. By the closing of the German war Napoleon was able to pour his veterans into the Peninsula, and Massena, with 70,000 troops, had orders to drive those

[1] Dated Wednesday, 18 (at breakfast), but no month. Strathfieldsaye, 1837.

"hateful leopards," as Napoleon called the lions on our national arms, "into the sea." To meet these forces, Wellington (he had been raised to the peerage after Talavera) had not more than 32,000 men, two thirds of whom were Portuguese troops under Marshal Beresford.

"I conceive," he wrote, "that the honour and interests of the country require that we should hold our ground here as long as possible; and, please God, I will maintain it as long as I can. I will neither endeavour to shift from my own shoulders on those of ministers the responsibility for failure, by calling for means which I know they cannot give, and which would not, perhaps, materially add to the facility of attaining our object: nor will I give ministers who are not strong, and who must feel the delicacy of their own situation, an excuse for withdrawing the army from a position which, in my opinion, the honour and interest of the country require that they should maintain as long as possible."

In pursuance of his plan of a defensive campaign, Wellington resisted any temptation to give battle on a plain with veterans so much more numerous than his own mixed army. When therefore Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida successively fell before Massena, Wellington drew his army back by the Valley of the Mondego to the ridge of the Sierra de Busaco. Thither followed Massena, and undismayed by the strength of the position, and underrating his antagonist's strength, attacked the ridge with all his force. Of the five columns that gallantly struggled up its sides, two alone surmounted the ridge, and were then driven back with terrible loss. Convinced of his inability to force the position, Massena marched to the right over the mountains towards Coimbra. Resisting the strong temptation of attacking the French army during their march, Wellington refrained from risking his troops, the only organised army in the Peninsula, and fell slowly back to the famous lines of Torres Vedras, within the first range of which the allied army was collected on October 16.

It was as far back as the autumn of 1809 that the construction of these defences covering Lisbon had been

contemplated by Wellington. Shortly after the battle of Talavera he gave the following reasons for the instructions that he then issued to Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, the commandant of engineers of the army.

The reasons for the construction of the Lines of Torres Vedras.

"In the relative state of the allied and French armies it does not appear probable that the enemy have it in their power to make an attack on Portugal. They must wait for reinforcements, and as the arrival of these may be expected, it remains to be considered what plan of defence shall be adopted for this country. The great object in Portugal is the possession of Lisbon and the Tagus, and our measures must be directed to this subject. There is also another connected with that first object, to which we must likewise attend, viz.—the embarkation of the British troops in the case of a reverse."

"He then calls Fletcher's attention to the fact that, though in winter the Tagus, being full, would offer such an impediment as to make an attack from the south not difficult to be repelled; in the summer it was easily fordable between Abrantes and Salvaterra, and that to the defence in that direction his attention should be directed, lest the enemy might cut off from Lisbon the army engaged in operations to the north of the Tagus." [1]

Of the country in which he proposed to rear this defence, there were plans made by Sir Charles Stewart in 1799 and that of Colonel Vincent.[2] He also had received a map from Dom Pereira Fergas and a memoir from a Major Das Neves, both so inaccurate that he could place no reliance on them. "It is a fact," he wrote to Dom Fergas in April 1813, when several native officers were claiming the merit of the original design, "that having trusted in one instance to the plan and the memoir, without reconnoitring the ground, I was obliged

[1] Memorandum to Colonel Fletcher, October 29, 1809.

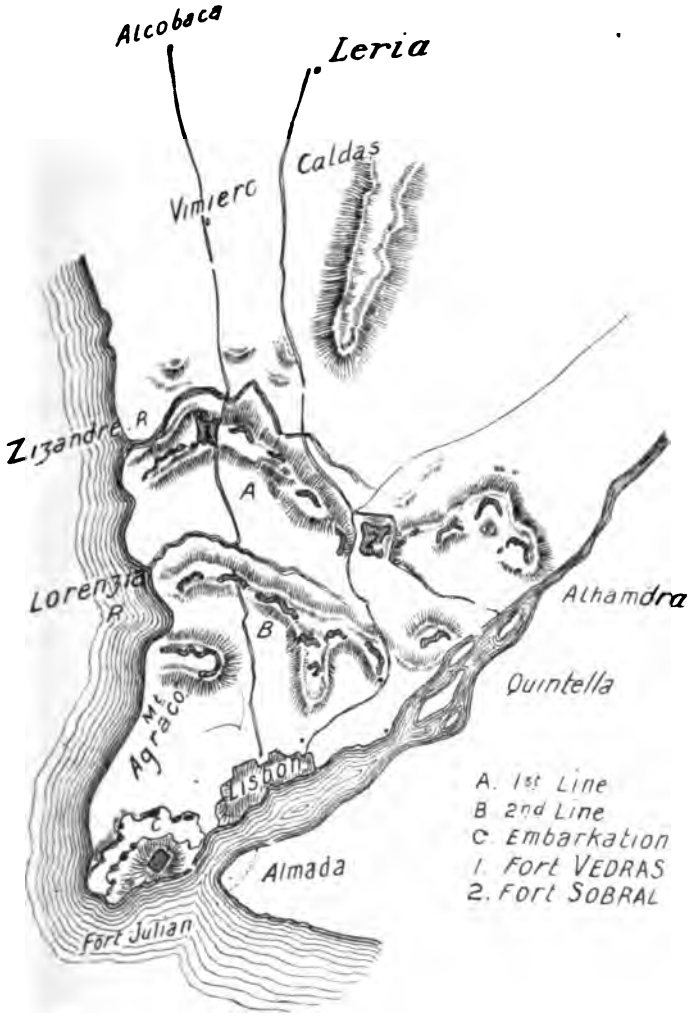
[2] Sir C. Stewart commanded a British force in Portugal that year.

to make a second journey to Lisbon, in February 1810, and to destroy the works that had been constructed." [1]

The instructions to Colonel Fletcher were of course very detailed. To summarise them, they included preparations for three lines of defence. The outermost, some twelve miles from Lisbon, ran along the crest of the hills that stretched from Alhambra on the Tagus to the mouth of the river Sirandre; the second, eight miles from the sea, ran along another range of hills that stretched from the Tagus to the mouth of the river Lorenza; the third, intended to cover the embarkation of the troops, extended from Passo d'Arcos on the Tagus to the Tower of Jonquera on the sea front. Originally the second line had been intended for the permanent resting-place of the army, had not the dilatoriness of the French advance enabled the engineer to complete the outer line. Three rivers were to be dammed up to form inundations; three large entrenchments were to be raised at Torres Vedras, Cabeca, and Sobral, each capable of covering from 4,000 to 5,000 men, besides several smaller ones for less numbers; the roads leading to the several parts of the positions were to be examined and defended, signal posts erected along the whole of the line, and a ready communication over twenty-nine miles of defence secured by a good road along their entire length.

Within the outermost line of these defences 30,000 British troops and an equal number of Portuguese and about 5,000 Spaniards were collected before the end of October, in the numerous encampments that had been prepared. The barrier presented by the outer line could not be carried save by a countless loss of life. Thirty redoubts, mounting nearly 150 guns, and strengthened by the great centre fortification at Sobral, commanded every road and every valley, and the very hills were scarped so as to afford a clear range for the guns. Such were the famous Lines of Torres Vedras, the position of which the small map will give a clearer idea than any word-painting. Within their shelter the 400,000

[1] Letter to Dom Pereira Fergas, Alfargates, April 24, 1812. Among the claimants was a "Senhor ——," whose plans were inaccurate and misled him. This was probably Das Neves, and in his letter to C. Stuart, Frenada, October 6, 1811, he speaks of having to make the second visit in 1810, in consequence of their inaccuracy.



THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS.

inhabitants of Lisbon had ample subsistence, and so little fear of attack, that the encampments assumed the character of a cantonment in a friendly and unoccupied country, rather than a chain of forts beleagured by a powerful enemy.[1]

For two years the secret of the steady preparation of these works had been kept, despite all the cleverness of the French spies, and when Massena reached the foot of them he found a line of fortresses where he was assured by his Portuguese friends that there were no impediments to his march on Lisbon. It escaped even the notice of the editors of the English newspapers, of whose incautious revelations of the positions and probable movements of the allied armies the general had warned the Prime Minister on a previous occasion.

Newspaper revelations of the Movements of the Armies.

"I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the frequent paragraphs in the English newspapers, describing the position, the numbers, the objects, and the means of attaining them, possessed by the armies in Spain and Portugal.

"In some instances the English newspapers have accurately stated, not only the regiments occupying a position, but the number of men fit for duty of which each regiment was composed; and this intelligence must have reached the enemy at the same time it did me, at a moment at which it was most important that he should not receive it.

"The newspapers have recently published an account of the defensive positions occupied by the different English and Portuguese corps, which certainly conveyed to the enemy the first knowledge he had of them; and I enclose a paragraph recently published, describing the line of operation

[1] The Portuguese Regency were of course dissatisfied that Wellington would not allow them to interfere with his arrangements. He told them "that he was responsible for what he did, and recommended them to look to the measures for which they were responsible—the tranquillity of Lisbon and the food for the army." To C. Stuart, Rio Mayor, October 6, 1810.

which I should follow in case of the occurrence of a certain event, the preparations which I had made for that operation, and where I had formed my magazines. It is not necessary to enquire in what manner the newspapers acquire this description of information; but if the editors really feel an anxiety for the success of the military operations in the Peninsula, they will refrain from giving this information to the public, as they must know that their papers are read by the enemy, and that the information which they are desirous of conveying to their English readers is mischievous to the public, exactly in proportion as it is well founded and correct. Your Lordship will be the best judge whether any and what measures ought to be adopted to prevent the publication of this description of intelligence. I can only assure you that it will increase materially the difficulty of all operations in this country." [1]

Notwithstanding his severe repulse at Busaco, Massena followed the allies to the foot of the lines of Torres Vedras, and for nearly a month subsisted by the French method of *la maraude*, an army of 60,000 men and 20,000 horses, where the British could not have drawn subsistence for their cavalry, despite all their payments and the goodwill of the inhabitants. Of Massena Wellington had a high opinion.

"Buonaparte" (he told a friend in later years) "said that Soult was the only real *homme de guerre* among his marshals. I myself thought Massena the best I had met; at least whilst he was in front of Torres Vedras I always found him where I did not wish to find him. When Massena came in front of Torres Vedras, he said to two Portuguese refugees —the Marquis d'Alaina and the Count of Subserra (or some such name) who no doubt had been urging him forward, '*Mais comment*'—pointing to my works—'*vous m'avez assuré que la Mondego passé, je trouverais terre pleine jusqu'à Lisbon; mais voyez donc.*' 'Ah,' they replied, '*c'est que le diable*

[1] To Lord Liverpool, Badajos, November 21, 1809.

d'homme'—meaning me—'*a placé des fortresses partout.*' '*Mais,*', said Massena, '*ce diable d'homme n'a pas créé les montagnes que voilà.*' '*Non,*' rejoined they, '*mais que seraient les montagnes sans les fortresses?*' and so they went on squabbling, I suppose, as long as they lay before my lines."[1]

In preparation for the retreat to the Lines of Torres Vedras, Wellington had issued the sharpest orders to the inhabitants of the country to abandon their habitations and remove all that was possible of their property. This policy, which was, however, only partially carried out in practice, naturally greatly inconvenienced Massena's army in his advance, which was also constantly harassed by the *Ordenanza*, whom Massena treated "as brigands and assassins," and not, as they were in reality, a military corps. Wellington's severe rebuke of Massena's conduct in this matter is forcibly described by M. Lanfrey in the following quotation:—

Massena and the Portuguese Ordenanza.

"The peasants of the Ordenanza," says M. Lanfrey, "however, had not fled, and they harassed our marauders and our stragglers, and even carried off one of our colonels. Massena, in accordance with a disgraceful practice commenced in Italy and applied by Napoleon himself in Germany, published an order enjoining that all who were taken should be shot as brigands, a cruelty which was one day to be turned against ourselves, when in our turn we learned the humiliation of defeat and invasion.[2] The lesson which Massena received on this occasion from the English general cannot be too much known, for there is no nation that has such an interest in defending the eternal rights of patriotism. It

[1] MS. Notes of Conversations. *Quarterly Review*, March 1853.

[2] The treatment of the Franc Tireurs by the Germans in the Franco-German war. 1870-1.

deserves record all the more because, while bearing the impress of that lofty spirit so gratifying in warriors, it contains, amidst all its severity, the most delicate flattery of him to whom it was addressed.

"Massena had replied to a first remonstrance by the pretext usually alleged in defence of this species of violence —that the peasants wore no uniforms. 'Those whom you call peasants without uniforms, and highway assassins,' Wellington wrote to him, 'form the Ordenanza of this country. They are a portion, as I have already had the honour to assure you, of the paid military corps and act under military law. It seems that you require, in order to be admitted to the enjoyment of the rights of war, that every one must wear a uniform; *but you ought to remember that you yourself added to the glory of the French army when commanding soldiers who had no uniform.*' . . .

"'I am sorry,' added Wellington, 'that your Excellency should feel some personal inconvenience from the fact of the Portuguese quitting their homes on the approach of the French army. It is my duty to make those retreat whom I have not the means of defending. Moreover the orders which I have given to this effect were scarcely necessary, for those who remember the invasion of their country in 1807, and the usurpation of the government of their Prince, at a time of perfect peace, when there was not a single Englishman in their country, will find difficulty in believing your declarations that you are making war only on the English.'"[1]

Highly as he approved the generalship of Massena, he found him, like most of the French marshals, most untrustworthy in the exchange of prisoners, as he told a French gentleman in 1812, in the presence of the Judge Advocate Larpent.

[1] Lanfrey's 'Napoleon,' vol. iv. pp. 79, 80.

Exchange of Prisoners.

"Lord Wellington told him—a French gentleman who came over near Pamplona (August 1813)—concerning the exchange of prisoners in this country. He said Massena once agreed to exchange three hussar officers and one hundred and twenty men, rank for rank, and when he had got his three officers and the men, sent back only twenty soldiers and the rest countrymen and Portuguese militiamen, and three officers of militia scarcely embodied. Lord Wellington vowed never to trust to his honour again, and in every proposal always excepts Massena. Indeed, he said he was so little inclined now, from experience, to trust any of them, that a short time since, when an exchange was proposed, he said 'Yes; but first name the officers and men you offer, and their regiments, ages, &c., and then I will treat; but I will not have Spanish peasants for French soldiers.' To this they sent no answer.

"He also tells them, until our travellers and civilians who were detained are released, he can never listen to non-combatant pleas. All must be exchanged; but he is very liberal. He also said Soult once complained that six of our officers had escaped from their guard near Oporto, on that retreat, and had committed a breach of honour, but he (Lord Wellington), having enquired into it, found they were placed in confinement under a guard, and their parole not relied upon, and that they had got the better of their guard. He therefore told the Marshal that, the parole being abandoned by the imprisonment, the point of honour was gone, and that there were two ways of prisoners and their guards separating, and that he believed the guard had run away from their prisoners and not the prisoners from their guard. To this also he had no answer."[1]

[1] F. S. Larpent, Judge Advocate, ii. 54–5.

The determination of Wellington not to risk his army, but to let Massena waste his strength before the impregnable lines, provoked adverse criticism from the English journalists, who knew practically nothing of the real difficulties of the situation, and clamoured for the destruction of Massena's army after the victory of Busaco.

Wellington on Newspaper Critics.

"I must continue to do what I think will be for the good of the people of England under all the circumstances of the case, and not what I learn from this or that print pleases them. It makes one sick to hear statements of supposed facts, and the comments on supposed transactions here, which have the effect of keeping the minds of the people of England in a state of constant alarm and anxiety, and of expectation which must be disappointed. In the early part of the campaign all was alarm and gloomy anxiety: the British army was doomed to destruction, and I was to be well thought of if I could bring any part of it off the Peninsula. Then came the battle of Busaco (?), and nothing would then suit the editor of the newspaper but that Massena's army should be destroyed, although it was 20,000 men stronger than mine in that action, and, making a very large allowance for reinforcements to mine in the retreat, and for the losses of the enemy in their advance, must have been nearly equal in the first days of October. Those who have seen and know anything of armies, are aware that a combined army made up as mine is and always has been, partly of recruits, and in a great measure, of soldiers in a state of convalescence, and composed of officers unaccustomed to the great operations of war, is not equal to a French army; and those who have been engaged with a French army know that it is not so easily destroyed, even by one equal to contend with it. But nothing will suit the editors (friends as well as foes alike) but that the enemy

should be swept off the face of the earth; and for a month they have kept the people of England in trembling expectation of receiving the accounts of an action which was to relieve Europe of the yoke of the tyrant. Then every word in a despatch is not only scrupulously weighed and canvassed, but synonymous terms are found out for it, and false statements are founded on expressions to which meanings are assigned which never entered in the contemplation of the writer. . . . I shall either fight a battle or not, as I shall find it advantageous. The enemy have suffered enormously, and at this moment, including Spaniards, I have the inferior army by 10,000 men. But there is a great difference (particularly in the blood to be spilt) between fighting in a position which I choose, or the one in which the enemy has chosen to fight, and the difference makes the question the London editors and their readers cannot comprehend."[1]

I cannot leave this portion of the military career without quoting the opinion of that fair and acute critic M. Lanfrey, on the effect which the stand made by the allies within the lines of Torres Vedras had on the struggle against the arms and policy of Buonaparte and his marshals. It is all the more valuable as the matured opinion of one who was nationally an opponent.

The Effect of the Lines of Torres Vedras on the War against Buonaparte.

"These clear and energetic measures, executed in the teeth of the resistance which he encountered from the discouragement and scepticism of his own Government, and from the effeminacy, love of routine, and inertness of the Portuguese Regency, were conceived and carried out by Wellington with the full and thorough foresight of the consequences

[1] The Duke to J. W. Croker, Cartexo, December 20, 1810.

which they would produce, not only for the Spanish, but for the European cause itself. After having studied the enormous preparations for this memorable operation, and the lofty thoughts which inspired it, one is amazed to see our authors of memoirs, and our military historians, such as Pelet and Marmont, attributing the success which crowned his plans to Wellington's 'lucky star.' On the contrary, no one ever more closely calculated the bearing of his enterprises, no one ever prepared or better merited his success, no one ever wrested it more obstinately from blind fortune."

"If we can maintain ourselves in Portugal," he wrote to a member of the Portuguese Regency (Don Ferjas), "the war will not cease in the Peninsula, and if the war lasts in the Peninsula, Europe will be saved. I am also of opinion that the position I have chosen for the struggle is good, that it is one calculated by its nature to defend the very heart (*l'âme même*) of Portugal, and that if the enemy cannot drive us from it, he will be obliged to retreat, in which case he will run great risk of being lost, and at all events be forced to abandon Portugal."

"When he wrote these prophetic lines, so long anterior to the event, the English General was a very minor personage compared to the master of Europe, but it was he who represented moral force, as opposed to the brute force of numbers and overweening power. He had on his side, not only the goodness and justice of his cause, but also superiority in effort, in foresight, prudence and discernment, in great results achieved by small means, in the most calm and inflexible resolve, in the very elements, in short, which above all else ensure victory. By these too Wellington has earned the renown of having struck the most decisive blow against Napoleon's overwhelming power. The war of Russia was, it is true, the determining cause of his downfall, but without this wedge of iron, which from 1810 onwards penetrated so deeply into the sides of the giant, paralysing

all his movements, who can dare to assert that the war of Russia would ever have taken place."[1]

"Inflexible discipline, constant attention in securing subsistence for his soldiers, in paying all his expenses, in preserving his communications, in systematically acting upon the defensive, so as never to accept battle until he had collected all the advantages on his side, excessive circumspection in the formation of his plans and indomitable obstinacy during action, such were the means by which Wellington opposed us. They were no doubt far less brilliant than ours from an æsthetic point of view; not theatrically striking; offering no scientific combinations that could be quoted in a treatise upon strategy; but eminently efficacious. Wellington dazzled no one, but he beat us. He could afford to bear our contempt with philosophy, when he was successively defeating Junot, Soult, Ney, and Massena; in other words, the generals who had contributed most to the success of the empire."[2]

[1] Lanfrey's 'Napoleon,' vol. iv. 72–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.

CHAPTER III.—1810-1812.

Massena's Retreat—Extempore Scaling-ladders at Ciudad Rodrigo—Wellington's Care for the Wounded—Battle of Salamanca—Siege of and Retreat from Burgos—A Narrow Escape—Cause of the Failure at Burgos—Censure of the Army.

Massena's Retreat from Torres Vedras.

On November 16, at last Massena retreated, followed by the Allies, first only to Santarem, but early in the next year, on hearing that reinforcements had arrived from England, he fell back hastily on Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. The siege of the former fortress was decided upon, and, to prevent the arrival of a convoy to its aid, the terrible battle of Fuentes d'Onoro was fought (May 3 and 5, 1811).

Almeida having been thus recovered, the allies moved on and invested Ciudad Rodrigo. Foiled in their first attempt, the city being revictualled by the French in their sight, by a feigned movement the attention of Soult was drawn to Badajos, whilst Wellington suddenly returned to Ciudad Rodrigo and again invested it in January 1812. The difficulties were still great; how the want of scaling-ladders was overcome is told by Larpent.

The Extempore Scaling Ladders at Ciudad Rodrigo.

"I heard a few days since an anecdote about the siege of Rodrigo, which shows the man. Scarcely any one knew what was to be done. The great preparations were all made in Almeida, and most supposed, and I believe the French, that everything which arrived there was for the purpose of

defence there, not of attack elsewhere. On a sudden the army was in front of Rodrigo. A new advanced work was discovered, which must be taken before any progress could be made with the siege. To save men and time, an instant attack was resolved upon. Scaling ladders were necessary; the Engineers were applied to; they had none with them, for they were quite ignorant of the plans—an inconvenience which has often arisen in different departments from Lord Wellington's great secrecy, though the general result, aided by his great genius, has been so good. The scaling could not take place without ladders. Lord Wellington was informed of this. 'Well,' says he, 'you have brought up your ammunition and stores; never mind the waggons; cut them all up directly, they will make excellent ladders. There you see, each side piece is already cut.' This was done, and by the help of these novel ladders the work was scaled forthwith. At Badajos he found so little to be had in the regular way for a siege from want of transport, and so many difficulties in consequence from the regular bred artillery generals, &c., that he became principal engineer himself, making use of Colonel Dickson, the acting man, as his instrument. These sieges procured Dickson his majority and lieutenant-colonelcy in consequence, and though only a captain in the Royal Regiment Artillery, he now conducts the whole department here, because he makes no difficulties." [1]

After five days of battering, Ciudad Rodrigo was taken by storm, and the whole of Marmont's stores, artillery, and material captured. In the dead of winter 40,000 men had been gathered before it with such secrecy and celerity that it had fallen before the vast armies of the French could come to the rescue.

A similar instance of how little Wellington listened to objections is told by Larpent with reference to the construction of the bridge across the Adour (February, 1814).

[1] F. S. Larpent, Feb. 1814, vol. iii. 4, 5.

"Elphinstone, the engineer in command, told the Duke that the quantity of plank necessary would take time and make a delay. 'No,' says he, 'there are all your platforms of your batteries which have been sent out, in case of a siege. Cut them all up.' 'When we proceed with the siege,' replied the officer, 'what is to be done?' 'Oh, work your guns in the sand until you can make new ones out of the pine-wood near Bayonne.' So all the English battering platforms have been cut up accordingly."[1]

Wellington's Care of his Wounded.

The following illustrations of his anxious care of his wounded, and of the acute distress which he suffered from his losses in action, though referring to incidents of various dates, may, here, be conveniently grouped. For the first now given, I am indebted to the memoirs of Sir James Bland Burges, lately published.

"As I think you will be amused and interested by an authentic anecdote of Lord Wellington, I will tell it to you. It comes from his aide-de-camp, Major Gordon, who brought over the account of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo. Some little time ago, as a party of officers were dining with him, one of them happened to say that he had just returned from a place where a post of our soldiers was stationed, and that a considerable number of sick were without shelter, and exposed to the severity of the weather. When the party broke up Lord Wellington ordered his horse and set off with Gordon. They rode to the post in question, about thirty miles off, and arrived there about midnight. They found a great number of sick lying in the open air.

"Lord Wellington immediately knocked up the commanding officer, and asked him why the men were left in

[1] . S. Larpent, ii. vol. 306.

such a condition. He said that there was no accommodation for them in the place.

"'Be so good,' said Lord Wellington, 'as to show me this house.' After he had walked over and inspected it, he told Gordon immediately to remove 150 of the sick into it. He then went to the next officer in rank, and so on, till he had removed the whole of the sick; and, addressing the officers, he read them a severe lecture on the impropriety of their conduct, and told them that if they or any officer under his command should presume to consult his own convenience or luxury while a single sick man should remain unsheltered, he would make an example of them; and that, as to themselves, they might procure accommodation as they could somewhere else, for that the sick should remain where he had placed them. He and Gordon then mounted their horses, and returned to head-quarters before day, and without any one suspecting they had been absent. On the following evening, however, he told Gordon he suspected, from the sulky manner in which his orders had been received, that they were likely enough to be disobeyed; he was therefore determined to pay those gentlemen another visit.

"Accordingly, they mounted their horses again, and arrived past midnight at the post, where they found the sick removed into the open air, and the officers comfortably reposing in their old quarters. However, he soon aroused them; for he ordered the sick to be instantly brought in, put the officers under arrest, marched them to head-quarters, where they were tried for disobedience of orders, and cashiered."[1]

The following noble letter to the mother of the gallant Napiers naturally comes in here. One of her sons, George, after a previous wound, had been so severely wounded in the assault of the breach that his arm had to be amputated.

[1] From Sir James Bland Burges to his son Charles. Warren's, Tuesday, February 11, 1812.

The Brothers Napier.

To Lady Sarah Napier.

"Gallejos, January 21, 1812.

"My dear Madam,—I am sorry to tell you that your son George was again wounded in the right arm so badly last night in the storm of Ciudad Rodrigo as to make it necessary to amputate above the elbow. He, however, bore the operation remarkably well, and I have seen him this morning quite well, free from pain and fever, and enjoying highly his success before he had received his wound. When he did receive it he only desired that I might be told he had led his men to the top of the breach before he had fallen.

"Having such sons I am aware that you expect to hear of these misfortunes, which I have had more than once to communicate to you; and, notwithstanding your affection for them, you have so just a notion of the value of the distinction which they are daily acquiring for themselves by their gallantry and good conduct that their misfortunes do not make so great an impression upon you. Under these circumstances I perform the task I have taken on myself with less reluctance; hoping at the same time that this will be the last occasion on which I shall have to address you on such a subject, and that your brave sons will be spared to you.

"Although the last was the most serious, it was not the only wound which George received during the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; he was hit by the splinter of a shell in the shoulder on the 16th.[1]

"Ever, my dear Madam,

"Yours most faithfully,

"Wellington."

[1] 'Passages in the Early Military Life of General Sir G. T. Napier,' Appendix II. p. 294.

Wellington and Major Somers.

On the motion in the House of Lords of a vote of thanks to the army for the victory of Salamanca, Lord Somers paid the following tribute to Wellington's kindness to a near relative.

"He (Lord Somers) could tell their lordships that while his (Wellington's) great mind seemed to be wholly taken up with the important cares of his situation, he bestowed an attention, almost inconceivable, upon the comforts and conveniences of those under his command. Whether they were suffering from fatigue, from sickness, or from privations, they were equally the object of his solicitude. For himself he knew that to a near relative of his (Major Somers), whose constitution was fast sinking under the severe duties of his station, his parental kindness was such that it preserved a life which else would have been yielded soon after Salamanca, nor prolonged to that period when he laid it down for his country in a manner which gave him a melancholy pride in saying his son had so died. In alluding thus particularly to his own relative, he was far from meaning to intimate that this was a singular case of the kindness Lord Wellington extended to all alike."[1]

Again, when Lord March was so dangerously wounded at Orthez, Wellington's feelings were bitterly shown.

The Duke and Lord March.

"At Orthez His Grace received a severe contusion upon his hip-bone from a spent ball (the only time he was wounded), which prevented his directing in person the last movements of his army upon that day; but he did not leave the field until Soult had sounded a retreat.[2] In this engagement

[1] Speech of Lord Somers.

[2] He was laughing at Alava for a similar accident when the spent ball struck his leg and made him lame for several days. (Larpent.)

the present Duke of Richmond, then Lord March, was most dangerously wounded in leading his company of the 32nd Light Infantry, to the attack of the left of the height on which the right of the enemy stood. The wound was pronounced to be mortal; when the surgeon, the present Dr. Hair, under whose care Lord March was placed, was called in to attend the Duke, His Grace's first enquiry was after the young nobleman, who for many years had served upon his personal staff, and who had been present with him at the battles of Busaco and Fuentes d'Onoro; the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos; battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees; first storming of St. Sebastian, action at Vera. Dr. Hair in reply stated, that although the wound was severe, there was still a gleam of hope, as he had witnessed similar cases, where the sufferers had recovered."

"The Duke's next anxiety was to be sufficiently recovered to resume in person the pursuit of the enemy on the following morning, and expressed a fear that the stiffness occasioned by the contusion would for a time prevent him from mounting his horse. A simple yet efficacious remedy was applied, and at an early hour in the morning after the battle, His Grace, supporting himself by two sticks, crossed the street from his own quarters to those of his former aide-de-camp, and hobbled into the room where Lord March still remained in a most precarious state. Dr. Hair, who, overcome with fatigue and anxiety, was extended upon a mattress, started up at the entrance of the Duke, and made a sign to him that the wounded man was asleep. For a few seconds Wellington leant against the mantelpiece, overwhelmed with intense grief. Suddenly Lord March awoke, and, recognising his chief, faintly expressed a hope that he had been successful on the previous day; the reply in the affirmative was conveyed in downright plain English language: the Great Man adding 'And I shall follow it

up.' The exhausted youth then turned to doze again, and as the Duke left the room tears trickled down the cheeks of the warrior as he took leave, for the last time, as he feared, of his *protégé*—the son of one of his dearest and best friends."[1]

The capture of Badajos followed quickly after that of Ciudad Rodrigo. On March 17 it was invested by 30,000 picked troops under Wellington, whilst General Hill covered the besieging forces with an army of two-thirds of their strength. Despite the murderous inventions of the French engineer Philippon, after twenty days' defence, it fell, on April 8, before an assault, in which the losses of the stormers were such as have been seldom known. After a timely rest Wellington moved on Salamanca, whither Marmont had retreated, and effected a junction with General Bonnet. Of the battle that followed, of which a French general said that "40,000 French troops were defeated in forty minutes," we have the following anecdote.

The Battle of Salamanca.

"July 22, 1812.

"Alava told us one morning at breakfast (the Duke being present and listening to the whole story as quietly as if it related to another person) of a very different breakfast which he and the Duke had the morning of the battle of Salamanca. The Duke had been very busy all day, and had not thought of breakfast, and the staff had grown very hungry; at last, however, there was a pause (I think he said about two) near a farmyard surrounded by a wall, where a kind of breakfast was spread on the ground, and the staff alighted and fell to. While they were eating the Duke rode into the enclosure; he refused to alight, and advised them to make haste. He seemed anxious and on the lookout. At last they persuaded him to take a bit of bread and the leg of a roast fowl, which he was eating

[1] Lord W. Lennox, pp. 213–6, quoting from a lecture delivered at Wells by Montague Gore. See also Gen. Sir G. T. Napier's 'Autobiography,' where this incident is related with a slight variation of details.

without knife from his fingers, when suddenly they saw him throw the leg of the fowl far away over his shoulder, and gallop out of the yard calling on them to follow him. The fact is he had been waiting to have the French sighted at a certain gap in the hills, and that was to be the signal for the long meditated and suspended attack. 'I knew,' said Alava, 'that something *very serious* was about to happen when an article so very precious as the leg of a roast fowl was thrown away.' Alava told this story in all its circumstantial details, and with his usual liveliness and action, and he really brought round the catastrophe very dramatically and to our great amusement. The Duke sat by, his head inclined, quite silent, but with a smile which seemed to say that the narrative was a good deal pleasanter than it really had been."[1]

Marmont and Buonaparte.

"Buonaparte was furious against him, and it certainly seems that he ought to have waited for the reinforcements under Joseph, which would so much have increased his army; but as to the battle itself, I saw not much to criticise beyond his having spread himself too much in endeavouring to get round me. Buonaparte was in a furious rage at first, but when he received our gazette with an account of the battle, he said, 'This is true—I am sure this is a true account—and Marmont, after all, is not so much to blame,' and he restored him to favour. This was told me by Barbedel (the Bayonne banker), who dined with me long after at St. Jean de Luz, and surprised me very much by telling me that I had done Marmont an essential service. I asked how? 'Why, by writing that despatch, which was so

[1] Croker, 'Conversations,' Walmer, May 1831. This accounts for Napier's statement that Wellington had retired from the Hermanito, and was lying down when informed that the French were moving towards Ciudad Rodrigo. 'Peninsular War,' vol. iv. 366, and see *ante*, p. 21.

honest and clear, that Buonaparte saw the thing in the real light and forgave Marmont.'"[1]

Now followed the occupation of Madrid (August 12) and the failure at Burgos (Oct. 22, 1812).

The retreat of Marmont with little more than half his force opened the centre of Spain to the allies, and had the Spaniards been of real use in the field, save as guerillas, the concentration of the French armies in the rear of the English whilst engaged on the siege of Burgos might have been rendered impossible. After five weeks of a useless expenditure of life, Wellington convinced that his artillery was inadequate for the purpose, and that the French armies were concentrating in his rear, decided to retreat to the frontier of Portugal. But for the repeated neglect of his orders, and the consequent demoralisation of the troops, this retreat might have been as creditable as it was discreditable to the army. Even with all its drawbacks, thanks to short marches and long rests, and many brave and successful stands against the enemy, it was accomplished with comparatively little loss; and on November 19, 1812, the army was concentrated behind the river Agueda. Of some of the incidents of that retreat we have the following illustrations.

The Retreat from Burgos.

"The French deserter—the talkative lieut.-colonel—is here again, and has one great merit—he induces Lord Wellington to talk and discuss his old battles, &c., when this man was on the other side. Thus from the two, I pick up a little of the cause of things, &c., and yesterday the conversation turned upon the retreat of last year. The Frenchman said all their officers blamed Soult for his conduct after crossing the Tormes; that he was in fact nearer Rodrigo than our army, and might and ought to have cut us off if he had pushed on. Lord Wellington said, 'I fully expected to

[1] Croker, Strathfieldsaye, 1837. This is the banker whom Napier calls *Bardedat*, who offered to supply the allies with various stores, and even provide money for bills on the English Treasury Napier, 'Peninsular War,' vol. vi. 69.

find him on the high road; and I ordered nothing at all that way in consequence on the first day; afterwards when I found he was not there, I took to it.' The French officer replied, 'From the rain and hazy weather and bad roads, Soult was puzzled and afraid—he did not in the least know the English plans. He heard of some troops, and did not know whether they were a rear-guard or the main army, and so on; and when he found his lordship making a stand, collected at St. Manos, he said, "*Ah, que j'avais tort!*"' The Frenchman then tried to pump Lord Wellington, and said, 'If he had cut you off, perhaps you would have recrossed the Tormes and made for the Benevente road; but you would have suffered much.' Upon which Lord Wellington observed, 'No, I certainly should have done no such thing; that would have been ruin. But if you must know what I should have done, I should have done what many thought I ought to have done as it was—I should have fought and trusted to the bravery of my troops to get me out of the scrape.' The Frenchman then said, 'No one ought to have blamed you for not doing that, unless it were absolutely necessary. For the French were 20,000 stronger than you were, and their cavalry was then very numerous and in the highest order.'"[1]

A Narrow Escape, on the Retreat from Burgos, from Disobedience of Orders.

"My general order after the retreat from Burgos was very much complained of. I will give you an instance of the conduct I was forced to censure. During that retreat I was with two divisions of the army—Sir W. Stuart's and Lowry Cole's. The French were following me in force, and I was in considerable apprehension that they would turn me and get into the rear, and perhaps take these two divisions. At

[1] F. S. Larpent (Judge Advocate), Lesaca, August 1813, vol. ii. 76.

the end of a day's march I halted these divisions on a high road, and ordered Stuart and Cole to march by daylight along the same to a little village two miles forward, whither I was going to sleep, as more central. Stuart, on receiving my order, said, 'Sir, don't you think we had better march so and so?'—a direction which he said was a short one, and would save time and fatigue. I told him no, and that that route was not practicable; that there was a river in the way; that I desired him to come along the high road, and to march till he had further orders. So I went on to the village, did my other business, and went to bed; but I was very uneasy, for the French had a great superiority of force at this point, and our situation was exceedingly ticklish; so I was up again before day, and kept looking out and listening for the advance of the two divisions; but half-hour after half-hour elapsed, and they did not appear. I became very anxious, for I had left them but two miles off; so I rode back in some alarm, which was not diminished when I could see nothing of my army, nor could I guess where they had gone. So I pushed on my reconnaissance towards the enemy, and whether they had recognised me personally, and thought I was advancing to attack them, or from whatever motive, I can't tell; but I was delighted to find that they were not pressing after us, but seemed rather concentrating themselves. This was quite a relief to me, and I set out again to look for my divisions, which I found had taken the route proposed by Stuart, and forbidden by me the night before, and they were brought to a full stop by a deep little river, which they could not get over, and which I had mentioned to Stuart when I rejected his proposal to take this route. If the French had known our circumstances they might have caught these two divisions in this trap, and the whole army would have been, in consequence, irretrievably lost. Stuart knew nothing of the country, and, above all, of this river, and it seems did not believe what I had told him about it.

These sort of things, of which no one but the general can guess the mischief, oblige him to say and do things that to bystanders and critics may seem harsh."[1]

The Cause of the Failure at Burgos.

"The fault of which I was guilty in the expedition to Burgos was, not that I undertook the operation with inadequate means, but that I took there the most inexperienced instead of the best troops. I left at Madrid the 3rd, 4th, and light divisions, who had been with myself always before; and I brought with me that were good, the 1st division, and they were inexperienced. In fact, the troops ought to have carried the exterior line by escalade on the first trial on the 22nd September, and if they had, we had means sufficient to take the place. They did not take the line, because ——, the field-officer, who commanded, did that which is too common in our army. He paid no attention to his orders, notwithstanding the pains I took in writing them, and in reading and explaining them to him twice over. He made none of the dispositions ordered; and instead of regulating the attack as he ought, he rushed on as if he had been the leader of a forlorn hope, and fell, together with many of those who went with him. He had my instructions in his pocket; and as the French got possession of his body, and were made acquainted with the plan, the attack could never be repeated. When he fell, nobody having received orders what to do, nobody could give any to the troops. I was in the trenches, however, and ordered them to withdraw. Our time and ammunition were then expended, and our guns destroyed in taking this line; than which at former sieges we had taken many stronger by assault.[2]

[1] Croker, 'Conversations,' 1837, vol. ii. 308, 309. This occurred on November 18, after the passage of the river Huebra. Napier, 'Peninsular War,' vol. iv. 385.

[2] To Lord Liverpool, Frenada, November 23, 1812. The officer referred to was Major Lawrie. Napier, 'Peninsular War,' vol. iv. 339.

"I see that a disposition already exists to blame the Government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The Government had nothing to say to the siege. It was entirely my own act. In regard to means, there were ample means both at Madrid and Santander for the siege of the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was means of transporting ordnance and military stores to the place where it was desirable to use them."

The demoralisation of the army during the retreat called forth from the general the most severe rebukes, and, regardless of the murmurs it might and did occasion, he hesitated not to attribute it to its real cause, the habitual inattention of officers to his orders and their duty. Hence the following orders issued to officers commanding brigades and divisions at Frenada, November 29, 1812:—

"But besides these objects, I must draw your attention in a very particular manner to the state of discipline of the troops. The discipline of every army, after a long and active campaign, becomes in some degree relaxed, and requires the utmost attention on the part of the general and other officers to bring it back to the state in which it ought to be for service; but I am concerned to have to observe that the army under my command has fallen off in this respect in the late campaign to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever served, or of which I have ever read. Yet this army has met with no disaster; it has suffered no privations which but trifling attention on the part of the officers could not have prevented, and for which there existed no reason whatever in the nature of the service; nor has it suffered any hardships excepting those resulting from the necessity of being exposed to the inclemencies of the weather at a moment when they were most severe.

"It must be obvious, however, to every officer, that from the moment the troops commenced their retreat from the

neighbourhood of Burgos on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command over their men. Irregularities and outrages of all descriptions were committed with impunity, and losses have been sustained which ought never to have occurred. Yet the necessity for retreat existing, none was ever made on which the troops had such short marches; none on which they made such long and repeated halts; and none on which the retreating armies were so little pressed on their rear by the enemy.

"We must look therefore for the existing evils, and for the situation in which we now find the army, to some cause besides those resulting from the operations in which we have been engaged.

"I have no hesitation in attributing these evils to the habitual inattention of the officers of the regiments to their duty, as prescribed by the standing regulations of the service, and by the orders of this army.

"I am far from questioning the zeal, still less the gallantry and spirit of the officers of the army; and I am quite certain that if their minds can be convinced of the necessity of minute and constant attention to understand, recollect, and carry into execution the orders which have been issued for the performance of their duty, and that the strict performance of this duty is necessary to enable the army to serve the country as it ought to be served, they will in future give their attention to these points.

"Unfortunately the inexperience of the officers of the army has induced many to consider that the period during which an army is on service is one of relaxation from all rule, instead of being, as it is, the period during which of all others every rule for the regulation and control of the conduct of the soldier, for the inspection and care of his arms, ammunition, accoutrements, necessaries and field equipments, and his horse and horse appointments; for the receipt and issue and care of his provisions; and the regu-

lation of all that belongs to his food and the forage for his horse, must be most strictly attended to by the officers of his company or troop, if it is intended that an army, a British army in particular, shall be brought into the field of battle in a state of efficiency to meet the enemy on the day of trial."[1]

[1] According to Napier, "This circular was not strictly just, because it excepted none from blame, though in conversation Wellington admitted the reproach did not apply to the light division or to the guards."—'Peninsular War,' vol. iv. 404.

CHAPTER IV.—1812–1813.

Conduct of the Spanish Troops during the War—Irish Spaniards—Spanish Jealousy of Foreigners—Intrigues against Wellington—Crawford—Charles Stewart.

Conduct of the Spanish Troops—Intrigues against Wellington.

UNTIL May 6, 1813, Wellington kept his army in their cantonments and devoted his attention to not only improving the condition and comfort of his own men, but in endeavouring to make the Spanish troops, to which he was now appointed commander-in-chief, less unreliable. "They cry 'viva,'" he wrote to Lord Bathurst, "and are very fond of us and hate the French: they are in general, the most incapable of useful exertion of all the nations that I have known, the most vain, and at the same time the most ignorant, particularly in military affairs, and, above all, of military affairs in their own country."[1] The form of the Government, in which each member suspected the other, and had practically

[1] Madrid, August 15, 1815, and Frenada, January 27, 1813. Though the appointment was made at Cadiz, December 1812, the terms of it were broken immediately after Wellington left the city; so after the victory of Vittoria he resigned it, and then the appointment was renewed and the terms observed. In a letter to Mr. Canning, February 16, 1824, on the subject of the conduct of the Spanish generals, the Duke said: "After 1809 there was only Morillo with 3,000 infantry and about 500 cavalry; at Vittoria only Morillo's corps; after that two other corps of 10,000 each; on entering France only Morillo's and the two other corps." The troops were in such bad order, and behaved so ill, that he sent all of them back to Spain except Morillo's, and then brought forward that of General Freyre, whose conduct at Toulouse is related, p. 54.

no power outside the walls of Cadiz, where they sat, increased the difficulties with which he had to contend, and to the last the Spanish troops were unreliable. To Mr. Croker's enquiry, in 1852, "Did you ever see the Spanish troops stand to their work?" the Duke replied, "No! the best would fire a volley while the enemy was out of reach, and then all run away. They were no doubt individually as brave as other men. I am sure they are vain enough of their bravery; but I never could get them to stand."[1] Of their conduct after Talavera we have General Sir G. T. Napier's account.

Conduct of the Spanish Troops—The Spaniards after Talavera.

July 27–8, 1812.

"In the course of a few days Lord Wellington's information of the movements of the French armies caused him to retire towards the Tagus, and as the bridge of Arzibispoa was some leagues in the rear, Lord Wellington made the Spaniards promise they would remain at Talavera, and watch the movements of the enemy in their front, while he made the necessary arrangements for the British taking up a new position on the left bank of the Tagus, and prepared to meet Marshal Soult, who had reorganised his beaten army, and was moving down in full march on the rear of the British. Cuesta, the Spanish general, instead of remaining as he had promised Lord Wellington, the very moment the road was clear and that he knew our army was on the retreat, turned round and went off as fast as possible, leaving the British hospital at the mercy of the enemy; and of course the whole of our sick and wounded soldiers and officers were made prisoners

[1] In a conversation in later years, at which Lord Castlereagh was present, he misunderstood the Duke's remark when he spoke highly of what he called "his Spanish troops" in the Peninsula, meaning his veteran troops, whom he used to look upon with the same confidence as "the Spanish infantry" was held in the wars in Germany and France in the sixteenth century.

by Marshal Victor, the French general-in-chief, who immediately on learning that the English and Spaniards had evacuated the town, took possession of it. He behaved most kindly and generously to the wounded and the medical officers who were left in charge of the hospital." [1]

Victor knew how to treat the Spaniards; he asked no favours, but commanded them to receive the wounded into their houses in equal numbers of French and English, with orders to attend to the English first. He soon made them clear the streets of the putrefying dead, and then subjected the place to a three hours' plunder of the most systematic kind, thus bringing to light stores which, only a few days before, the Spaniards had refused to their allies.

From the same authority we have a graphic account of their conduct at Toulouse—so different to what it had been but a short time before on the attack on the Great Rhune at the passage of the Bidassoa.[2]

The Spaniards at Toulouse.

"While the work of death was going on here, the centre of the French position was attacked by the Spanish column of 8000 men under General Freyre, who had *demanded* in a rather haughty tone that Lord Wellington should give the Spaniards the post of honour in the battle. He acceded, but took special care to have the light division in reserve to support them in case of accident. Old Freyre placed himself at the head of his column, surrounded by his staff, and marched boldly up the hollow way, or road, which led right up to the enemy, under a heavy and destructive fire of cannon-shot, which, plunging into the head of his column, made great havoc among his men; still they went steadily and boldly on, to my astonishment and delight, to see them behave so

[1] 'General Sir G. T. Napier,' pp. 110–11.
[2] See *post*, p. 74.

gallantly, and I could not help expressing my delight to Colonel Colborne. But, alas! he knew them too well and said to me, 'Gently, my friend; don't praise them too soon; look at yonder brigade of French light infantry, ready to attack them as soon as the head of their column enters the open ground. One moment more and we shall see the Spaniards fly. Gallop off, you, and throw the 52nd (which was in line) into open column of companies, and let these fellows pass through, or they will carry the regiment off with them.' He had scarcely finished the words when a well-directed fire from the French infantry opened upon the Spanish column, and instantly the words '*Vive l'Empereur! en avant, en avant!*' accompanied by a charge, put the Spaniards to flight, and down they came upon the 52nd, and I had but just time to throw it into open column of companies when they rushed through the intervals like a torrent, and never stopped till they arrived at the river, some miles in the rear. As soon as they had passed, and I had formed the regiment into line again, we moved up and took the Spaniards' place, driving before us the enemy's brigade, who, being by this time completely beaten on the right, and all his forts and trenches carried by Beresford's troops, had retreated into the town. So that we found the fort on that part of the position which we attacked quite *abandoned, and we entered it without loss.*"[1]

There were other Spaniards in the Peninsula who did good service to Wellington, notably Dr. Curtis, then the head of one of the ecclesiastical establishments in Spain, and afterwards so well known from the part he bore when transferred to Ireland in forcing the consideration of the Roman Catholic claims. The account given of one of his methods of protecting information for Wellington from being seized by the French was amusingly described by the Duke in one of his latter conversations with Mr. Croker in 1852.

[1] 'Passages in Life of General Sir G. T. Napier,' pp. 257–8.

The Irish Spaniards in the Peninsula.

"Speaking of Dr. Wiseman, the son of an Irishman and a Spanish lady of Seville, at which city he believed he was born, the Duke said:—

"'Some of these Irish Spaniards were very useful to me in the Peninsula; they were our best spies, the most trustworthy and intelligent. *Curtis*[1] was a useful and really good sort of man, though somewhat spoiled when he got to Ireland. I think he meant well, and I had a regard for him. He had been some time in communication with me before I saw him, and had sent me numerous documents and papers, and I enquired how he could venture when the French were in possession of Salamanca to keep these papers. "Oh," he said, "I got a lady to conceal them in her clothes"' (here the Duke paused as if observing that my ladies were present, and then added), 'thinking that the French would not rummage a lady's clothes. I saw the lady afterwards and thanked her for her zeal in the cause.' There was evidently some little waggish circumstance which he could not mention before ladies."[2]

To complete this subject we quote here, though chronologically out of place, a portion of the masterly memorandum which the Duke addressed to Viscount Castlereagh, in 1820, when it was proposed by the then Government of France to intervene in Spanish affairs in support of King Ferdinand against a section of his subjects.

Spanish Jealousy and Dislike of Foreigners.

"There is no country in Europe in the affairs of which foreigners can interfere with so little advantage as in those

[1] This was the Dr. Curtis to whom the Duke wrote with reference to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. See 'Lord Anglesey's recall.'—Political —*post.*

[2] Folkestone, September 2, 1852. Croker, iii. p. 275.

of Spain. There is no country in which foreigners are so much disliked and even despised, and where the manners and habits are so little congenial with those of other nations of Europe. The pride and prejudices of the Spaniards, their virtues as well as their faults, are brought into action at every moment and in every transaction, and all tend to give them an exaggerated notion of their own power, and to depreciate foreigners.

"There are hundreds of instances in the late war of the operation of these feelings, but I will just advert to a few which prove them in a remarkable manner. When I went to Corunna in the year 1808, General Blake, at the head of the army of Gallicia, and General Cuesta, at the head of the army of Castille, had just been defeated and dispersed in a great action, fought at the Rio, by a very inferior force under Marshal Bessières. The kingdom of Gallicia was open to the enemy, who was expected to arrive at every moment. I offered the Junta to land and march to the frontier for their protection. But they refused my assistance, desiring me to land only the money and arms which were in the fleet for their use. It will be recollected that this body (the Junta) refused to allow General Rand's corps to land at Corunna, till ordered to do so by the Central Junta sitting at Madrid, notwithstanding that they knew their assistance, and the assistance of every man that could be procured, was necessary against the formidable army which had just entered Spain under Buonaparte.

"At a subsequent period of the war, in 1809, an offer was made to make Cadiz the basis of the operations of the British army, provided that that army should occupy Cadiz with a joint garrison; but this was refused, notwithstanding that the Spaniards had lost their last army in the battle of Otaña, and the Central Junta, situated at Seville, was exposed at every moment, and was in fact driven from that town into Cadiz because it would not adopt the proposed arrangement.

The measure of garrisoning Cadiz was permitted afterwards as a last resource; but it was too late to save the Junta from abandoning Seville, and the British army had then decided upon making Lisbon, instead of Cadiz, its point of support, and Portugal instead of Andalusia its basis. But this transaction shows how injurious to their own interests and views are the unnatural prejudices and jealousies of the Spaniards.

"I believe it will be admitted that no nation was ever under such obligations to another as Spain was to Great Britain during the late war. She was supplied with money, arms, provisions, and everything to enable her to carry on the war for her independence. Her battles were fought for her, her strong places were taken from the enemy, and restored to her, and everything was done to conciliate the good-will and confidence of the people of Spain."

The Duke then describes how, instead of following the lines of our constitution, she took for a model those of the National Assembly in France:—

"Here" (he adds) "are a few instances of the conduct of the Spanish nation to foreigners, which will tend to show what is to be expected from any interference, however friendly, in their affairs. History will show what is the consequence of a hostile one. I entertain no doubt that, from first to last, Buonaparte sent 600,000 men into Spain, and I know that not more than 100,000 went out in the shape of an army, and, with the exception of Suchet's corps, these were without cannon or baggage or anything to enable them to act as an army."

"It is true that this result of the war may in part be attributed to the operations of the allied armies in the Peninsula; but those would form a very erroneous notion of the facts who should not attribute a fair proportion of it to the effects of enmity of the people of Spain."

"I have known of not less than 380,000 men of the French army in operation in Spain at one moment; but their officers and the servants of the French government had no authority, excepting on the spot on which the troops stood, and their time passed, and their force was exhausted by the mere effort of obtaining subsistence from the country. Such was the effect of the want of resources in the country, of the hatred of the Spaniards to the French, principally because they were foreigners and interfered forcibly in their affairs, and of the passive resistance of the people to the French force."[1]

[The remainder of this memorandum, which was written to dissuade the allied powers from interfering forcibly with the insurgents, who had practically dethroned Ferdinand, and who were apparently threatening the life of the king and the royal party, shows the difficulty of moving and maintaining an army in Spain, from the sparseness of population, the scarcity of roads practicable for military operations, except at a cost infinitely greater than could be incurred in any other country.]

In addition to the other numerous difficulties with which Wellington had to contend in the Peninsula, were the jealous intrigues and the deliberate neglect of his orders by his general officers. One of the most constant in this system of neglect was the gallant Crawford, so favourably known for his forced march with his division to join the allies at Talavera. How he despised orders is told by the Judge-Advocate.

Lord Wellington and General Crawford.

"I have heard a number of anecdotes of General Crawford. He was very clever and knowing in his profession, all admit, and led on his division on the day of his death in the most gallant style; but Lord Wellington never knew what he

[1] Memorandum to Viscount Castlereagh, London, April 16, 1820.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. i. 119-21.

would do. He constantly acted in his own way, contrary to orders; and as he commanded the advanced division, at times perplexed Lord Wellington considerably, who never could be sure where he was. On one occasion, near Guinaldo, he remained across a river by himself—that is, only with his own division—nearly a whole day after he was called in by Lord Wellington. He said he knew that he could defend his position. Lord Wellington when he came back only said, 'I am glad to see you safe, Crawford.' The latter said, 'Oh, I was in no danger, I assure you.' 'But I was from your conduct,' said Lord Wellington. Upon which Crawford observed, 'He is d—d crusty to-day.'

"Marmont, when he saw Crawford filing off next morning, could not believe it. '*Diable! Voilà Crawford! Ma foi, j'aurai peu deviner cela.*' Another time Lord Wellington said, 'Crawford, you are going into a delicate situation; what orders do you wish for? I will write what you think best.' Crawford told him his own plan and went away. Whilst Lord Wellington was writing them out, and acting accordingly, Crawford sent him word he had done something else. Another time Lord Wellington sent to him to say he should inspect his division, and came accordingly. Crawford never attended until it was half over, and then said Lord Wellington was before his time. Yet he was very strict with his own division and would be very exactly obeyed. His division all complained of this, and many officers talked of who should call him out, on one or two occasions, for this; and yet he was thought so well of, and the whole division had such confidence in him, that when he joined them again just before the attack, to take the command in the engagement in which he died, the whole division set up a loud shout, so as to frighten a small party of French near, who did not know what was the matter, and then ran away. Lord Wellington knew his merits and

humoured him. It was surprising what he bore from him at times."[1]

That a man of such a temperament should have been led into intrigues against Wellington, probably by Charles Stewart, was hardly to be wondered at. Of the latter we have the following anecdotes.

Bringing an Adjutant-General to Reason.

"Charles Stewart (third Marquis of Londonderry) was a sad *brouillon* and mischief-maker. I was obliged to get rid of him. He used to harass the cavalry to death, by constant patrols and reconnoissances. This I was obliged to forbid, but he did not obey me; but this was not the real cause of my rupture with him. It was produced by a foolish pretension he set up as Adjutant-General of the army that the examination of prisoners belonged exclusively to him. It happened one day that some prisoners were taken, and my aide-de-camp, happening to be on the spot, examined them immediately, and to save time, brought me the result. But in consequence of this, Stewart refused to execute the rest of his duty to these prisoners, and declined to take any charge or care of them whatsoever; and he left them to escape, or to starve, as far as his department was concerned. This was too much; so I sent for him into my room. We had a long wrangle, for I like to convince people rather than to stand on mere authority, but I found him full of the pretensions of this department of his, although he, and it, and all of them, were under my orders, and at my disposal. It was in vain that I showed him that an accidental interference under emergent circumstances with what was ordinarily his duty, could not be considered as any affront to him. At last I was obliged to say that, if he did not at once confess his error, and promise to obey my orders

[1] F. S. Larpent (Judge-Advocate), vol. i. 133–4.

frankly and cordially, I would dismiss him *instanter*, and send him to England in arrest. After a great deal of persuasion, he burst out crying, and begged my pardon, and hoped I would excuse his intemperance." [1]

Intrigues against Wellington in the Peninsula.

"After this, he (Charles Stewart) intrigued in the army against me, and with the assistance of R. Crawford had turned all the general officers, except Beresford, against me (Beresford was a good soldier and an honest man). This was due to a supposed project of Lord Castlereagh's to go into decided opposition, and that the army should be withdrawn. It was impossible to keep him in the army, and when he left for England he told me this scheme. I told him I had no right to advise Lord Castlereagh, but that I looked upon the project as unworthy in object and unfounded in fact, and like all pretences—for a pretence it was—it would recoil on those who adopted it. I do not believe that it was Castlereagh's idea, but his brother's. When Castlereagh joined Perceval the matter dropped.

"Poor Crawford was a dissatisfied troublesome man, who fell naturally into this sort of intrigue, and I believe pushed it to a very blameable extent; for when he was mortally wounded he sent for me there, and, in the way one has read of in romances, solemnly asked my forgiveness, for injuries of that kind which he had done or endeavoured to do me.[2]

"I believe there was a good deal of this sort of spirit at one time, before I had laid hold of public opinion, both in the army and in the country, but I kept never minding it, quite sure that all would come right in good season.

"You have expressed this in your poem about me in better

[1] 'Conversations at Beaudesert,' 1826.—Croker, vol. i. 346.

[2] Crawford was mortally wounded at the assault on Ciudad Rodrigo.

language, but however expressed, the fact was, that I paid so little attention to this small malice, that there was I have no doubt, much that I never knew, and almost all I ever did hear, I have forgotten." [1]

[1] 'Conversations at Beaudesert,' 1826. Croker, vol. i. 347.

CHAPTER V.—1813.

The last March into Spain—Passage of the Ebro and Battle of Vittoria—Effect of the News of the Victory—The Battles of the Pyrenees—Passage of the Bidassoa—The Great Rhune—Good feeling between the English and French Armies—Proposed Separation of the English and Portuguese Armies.

The Last March into Spain.

During the winter of 1812 the allied armies remained in their cantonments within the frontier of Portugal, gaining strength, especially in their discipline and their confidence in their general. On May 6, 1813, Wellington decided to march from Portugal for the last time, and never had his army been more powerful for offensive operations, or in a more satisfactory state of discipline.[1] Whilst the left wing moved across the Douro, under General Graham, and, joining the forces of Castaños, pushed steadily forward toward Vittoria, thus threatening the French communications through Bayonne, the right, under Wellington, marched through Salamanca towards Burgos, which they found deserted and ruined by a sudden explosion of mines, that caused a heavy loss to the garrison. The incident at Burgos decided Wellington to make the forward movement which brought on the battle of Vittoria.

[1] The allied army consisted of 44,000 British and German troops, 29,000 Portuguese, and about 100 guns, In the south of Spain (Alicante) Sir John Murray had 16,000 men, of whom 11,000 were British or Germans. The Spanish armies nominally mustered 75,000 men, of whom those under Castaños in Estremadura alone were reliable. The French armies, though materially reduced by the Russian campaign, numbered about 230,000, of whom 30,000 were cavalry. Of these 100,000 were collected about Valladolid and Madrid under King Joseph Buonaparte.

THE MARCH FROM PORTUGAL.
1813.

The Passage of the Ebro and Battle of Vittoria.

"When I advanced upon Burgos the second time, and had taken my measures for driving back all the French posts and attacking the place, I was very much surprised by a loud explosion—they had blown up Burgos."

On Colonel Gurwood asking whether they had not blown it up too soon, the Duke replied:—

"Why, yes, we were even told that there was a whole battalion which in their hurry they blew up with the place. When I heard and saw this explosion (for I was within a few miles, and the effect was tremendous), I made a sudden resolution (*with emphasis*) INSTANTER—to cross the Ebro and endeavour to push the French at once to the Pyrenees. We had heard of the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, and the Armistice; and the affairs of the allies in Germany looked very ill. All about me were against my crossing the Ebro; they represented that we had done enough—that we ought not to risk the army, and what we had already gained—that this armistice would enable Buonaparte to reinforce his army in Spain—that we, therefore, should look to a defensive system and take up the line of the Ebro, &c. I thought otherwise. I asked them what they meant by taking up the line of the Ebro, a river 300 miles long; and what good I was to do along that line? I knew that the Armistice could not effect in the way of reinforcement so distant an army as that of Spain. I thought that if I could not *hustle* the French out of Spain before they were reinforced, I should not be able to hold any position in Spain when they should be so; and, above all, I calculated on the effect that a victory might have on the Armistice itself; in short, I would not listen to the advice. I crossed the river and pushed the French till I overtook them at Vittoria. The event showed I was right in my military expectations—and

I found afterwards that I was equally right in my political speculations—the victory excited a great sensation in Germany, and particularly at the headquarters of the allies. The way it reached them was this:—Buonaparte was at Dresden when the account of the battle reached him in an extraordinary short space of time, and he immediately resolved to send Soult to take the command in Spain (as being, as he told Bubna, the Austrian Minister at Dresden, '*la meilleure tête militaire que nous avons*'). Bubna soon found out the extent of the victory; and he sent off a secret messenger to Count Stadion, who, with the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and Prince Metternich, were at a château in Silesia, where the messenger arrived in the middle of the night. Stadion, as soon as he had read the letter, went immediately along the corridors of the château, knocking at the doors of the kings and ministers, and calling them all (with some very *bruyantes* expressions of joy) to get up, for he had good news from Spain. They soon assembled, and seeing that it was a blow that in all probability would deliver Spain, the Austrians took their line, and hostilities recommenced. You know the rest."[1]

Two days after the castle of Burgos had been blown up, the Ebro was crossed, and the allied forces poured into the basin of Vittoria. On June 21 the all-important victory of Vittoria was won with comparatively little loss on our side. Never had defeat been so decisive;[2] they were beaten before

[1] Mr. Croker's 'Diary,' &c., vol. ii. 231. Jan. 17, 1837.

[2] In the official report, drawn up at Bayonne by General Gazan, chief of the staff of the French army, he said:—"The army have lost everything—all their baggage, all their equipages, all their cannon, all their money, all their stores and provisions, all their papers, so that no one can reckon what he has or what is due to him. Officers and even generals have no other clothes than those on their backs, and the greater number had not even shoes on their feet." The spoil was indeed untold in value and most multifarious in kind. The bâton of Marshal Jourdan, 150 cannon and above 400 waggons of ammunition, constituted the military trophies alone (the plunder of six years was on the field)—treasures to pay arrears of

the town, and in the town, and out of the town, and behind the town. The plunder was immense, as the French had with them the greater portion of valuables they had mercilessly torn from the Spanish people. Among the spoils was the bâton of Field Marshal Jourdan, in exchange for which the Prince Regent sent the bâton of an English field marshal to the victorious general. How that victory was won, what all-important results it had on European affairs, and the influence and power of Wellington, are illustrated by the following notes of conversations.[1]

The Battle of Vittoria.

"There is a large picture in the billiard-room at Strathfieldsaye of the battle of Vittoria. 'Tis but a bad picture, but the Duke said was accurate as to the ground and action. He said, "I'll show how I won that battle. The road on the right is the high road from Madrid to Vittoria, which you see in the right distance; Lord Hill attacked along this road, further to the right on some broken wooded hills. Into them I sent at first a small force, one battalion; the French thought that was to be our attack, and drew off from the left (their right) and centre to reinforce it. I saw this, and sent another regiment (Cadogan's), and by degrees increased the force there. I had the day before sent Lord Lynedoch with his corps to the other side of that little river to our left, and he had been moving unseen behind some hills till he came on that side quite round the French right—that is his force that you see along there. When I saw that he had begun, and that the French were astonished at having us both on

nearly 2,000,000*l.* The dresses and jewels of women lay mingled with the stolen vestments of priests and the jewelled cups of the holy services; pictures the most secular and most holy lay mingled in confusion, mostly cut out of their frames in order to facilitate transport. "Wellington was on the frontier of Portugal in the beginning of May; on June 23 he is on the frontier of France."

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March 1853, p. 534.

the right and the left, I attacked this broken hill that you see in the foreground, and which was the French centre; but they had drained it to support their left, and I carried it, and won the battle with great ease and little loss. These wooded hills on the right were the ground of the Black Prince's victory,[1] and perhaps the French thought that I was ambitious to win a battle on the same spot; but they had better reason for suspecting that to be my point, for Clausel was on that side, and they believed that I wanted to turn them so as to prevent a junction with him; but my arrangements had been made the day before, as I told you, and took them as much by surprise as anything in a pitched battle can be said to do. I was not at all uneasy about Clausel, for an innkeeper came to me that morning to tell me that Clausel was at his village, in his house, about twenty miles off, and did not intend to move till the next day,—so that I was quite easy about him. It was curious that this innkeeper should have the zeal and good sense to make so much haste as to bring me this intelligence—but so it was."[2]

On another occasion the Duke said:—

"I hastened my movements at Vittoria because I knew that a reinforcement of 20,000 men was advancing under Clausel, whilst I had only 6000 coming up under Pakenham. Their outposts met, but Clausel did not dare attack him, and I had made arrangements for falling on Clausel with my whole force; and I should probably have overtaken and defeated him and his army, but that, in spite of my positive orders that there should be no wandering, a certain officer of dragoons chose to be taken prisoner while at dinner in a country house, and Clausel thus became aware of my move-

[1] The battle of Najera, 3rd April, 1367, in which the Black Prince defeated Henry of Transtamare. I have read somewhere that the site of Najera was not so near Vittoria as Wellington supposed.

[2] To J. W. Croker at Strathfieldsaye, March 24, 1834; vol. ii. 231-2.

ments, and turned away so fast and in such a direction that I did not choose to follow him. On what slight accidents events turn."[1]

The battle of Vittoria was fought on June 21, and the news of it reached Buonaparte on the 30th, and Bubna a few days after, and the resolution was then come to to break the Armistice on the day (August 10) to which the Armistice had been extended.

Wellington's View of his Position after Vittoria.

"Lord Wellington said the other day that he had (1813) great advantages now over every other general. He could do what others dare not attempt, and he had got the confidence of all the three allied powers, so that what he said or ordered was, right or wrong, always thought right. 'And the same with the troops; when I come myself, the soldiers think what they have to do the most important, as I am here, and that all will depend on their exertions; of course these are increased in proportion, and they will do for me what perhaps no one else can make them do.' He said he had several of the advantages possessed by Buonaparte, from his freedom of action and power of risking, without being constantly called to account; Buonaparte was quite free from all inquiry, he was himself in fact very much so. 'The other advantages Buonaparte possessed, and which he made so much use of (Lord Wellington said), was his full latitude of lying; *that*, if so disposed, he said he could not do.'"[2]

The Battles of the Pyrenees.

After the victory of Vittoria, the allied armies moved rapidly to the line of the Pyrenees, and early in June 1813, occupied in force the ground from the mouth of the Bidassoa

[1] Croker, Conversation with the Duke, 1826; vol. i. 335.
[2] F. S. Larpent (Judge-Advocate), vol. ii. 49.

on the left to the pass of Roncesvalles on the right. General Cole held the position at Roncesvalles, and General Hill that at the pass at Maya, whilst behind the right of the line the Spaniards blockaded Pamplona, and behind the left Graham besieged St. Sebastian. On the other side, Soult, suddenly summoned to endeavour to retrieve the fortunes of the French, had 100,000 men in the plain on the French side of the mountains. Soult had many points in his favour, and not the least were his facilities for communicating easily with both extremes of his line, whilst the allies lay in detached masses in a difficult country separated by inaccessible heights, and driven to communicate by circuitous routes. Hence on the 25th of July, whilst Wellington was absent before St. Sebastian, Soult was able to concentrate more than 20,000 men against General Cole's position, and 16,000 against that of Hill's brigade at Maya. The result was that, after a stout resistance and a severe loss on the part of the allies, both divisions had to give way, and to retreat in the direction of Pamplona. After, however, a series of deadly struggles, on the 27th the advanced divisions were safely placed at Lizasso, and by Wellington's orders, who had hurried back, other divisions were brought up. The allies, however, were still inferior in numbers, as the 6th division had not arrived. On Wellington's arrival the troops set up a hearty cheer, and as it re-echoed in the opposite hills, the French paused in their advance. "Soult will delay his attack," said Wellington, who knew how cautious the Marshal was, "until he learns the reason of these cheers; that will give time for the 6th division to arrive, and then I shall be at him."[1] And so it

[1] It is to this incident apparently that the following anecdote, related by Sir C. Hastings Doyle on the authority of his uncle Carlo Doyle, who served through the Peninsular War, refers. "On the occasion of a forced march, when the army became somewhat disorganized," says Sir Charles, "the Duke gave his orders with perfect coolness, and then went on to say, 'Now I shall go to bed.' 'To bed, my lord,' was the somewhat anxious comment; 'but if the French attack us during the night?' 'Oh dear no,' said he; 'we are quite safe from attack till ten o'clock to-morrow morning.' After all had happened as the Duke said, General Alava ventured to put this question: 'Might I ask, my lord, how you knew that the French would not attack us till ten o'clock in the morning?' 'Oh, certainly,' was the answer. 'As we were riding through such and such a pass, did you not see three French videttes gallop off as

was. The 6th came up during the night, and on the morning of the 28th the French attack commenced at Sauroren. It was in vain that their columns moved up with apparently resistless force, they reeled under the fire of our troops, fell into disorder and were borne back from the hills by the bayonet. It was all in vain that Soult sent on D'Erlon's Corps, which had joined during the struggle. The French were beaten at every point with the loss of 15,000 men, whilst that of the allies in all the battles did not reach to half that amount. The following extract explains the difficulties under which the allies laboured.

"Having been writing nearly all day yesterday, August 23, 1813, I took an evening stroll, and then went and sat down on the churchyard parapet-wall. In ten minutes who should come there but Lord Wellington *solus!* After one turn he came and sat on the wall with me, and talked for more than half an hour.

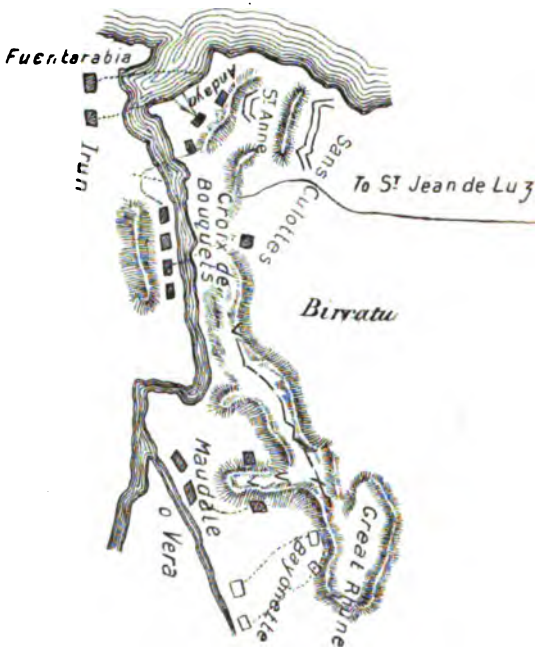
"Amongst other things I said I hoped you in England would hear Soult's account of the Maya business first, as you then would be alarmed, and value the latter account by the Prince of Orange as it deserved. He said, 'Why, at one time it was rather alarming, certainly, and it was a close run thing. When I came to the bridge of Sauroren, I saw the French on the hills on one side, and it was clear we could make a stand on the other hills in our position on the 28th; but I found we could not keep Sauroren—that it was exposed to

---

hard as they could?' 'No,' said Alava. 'But I did,' retorted Wellington, 'and I felt at once what would happen. Those fellows went off and reported to Soult that they had seen me in person, and I knew Soult well enough to be sure of his course. He would summon a council of war as soon as possible and tell them, "If Lord Wellington is there in person, he must have got up his reserves; before attacking him, I must get up mine." As for his reserves, I was quite sure that they could not be got up to act against us till ten in the morning; therefore, I took things easily, and went to bed.'"—'Sir C. Hastings Doyle's Recollections,' pp. 392-4.

their fire and not to ours. I determined to take the position, but was obliged to write my orders accordingly at Sauroren, to send back instantly, as if they were not despatched back directly the way I had come, I must have sent four leagues round in a quarter of an hour later. I stopped, therefore, to write accordingly; people saying to me all the time, "The French are coming, French are coming." I looked pretty sharp after them, however, every now and then until I had done, and then set off, and I saw them just near one end of the village as I went out at the other end, and then we took our ground.

"'I then said the only time I felt a little uneasy was when we were stopped at Lanz, and sent across to Ligaso, as all the faces seemed very long, and the removal of the wounded was very much pressed. This led him to explain more; and he said, "Had I been as regularly informed of how matters stood on the 26th and 27th (July), as I was of what passed on the 25th, that need not have happened; but General Cole never told me exactly how far he found it necessary to give way, or let me know by what superior forces he was pressed, and that he intended to give way, or my arrangements would have been quite different, and the French might have been stopped sooner than they were. In truth, I suspected all Soult's plan was only by manœuvres to get me out of the hills, and to relieve one or both places besieged (St. Sebastian and Pamplona), as things turned up and succeeded, and I expected him to turn short round towards St. Sebastian accordingly. I had then no notion that with an army so lately beaten he had serious thoughts, as now I am sure he had, of driving us behind the Ebro. The consequence was, the second division halted a day and a half at Trinita and Birruneta, on the 26th, and till three on the 27th; and the seventh division only took a short march to Estevan, as I was unwilling to lose a bit more of the mountain than was absolutely necessary, from the probable loss of men in re-



THE PASSAGE of the BIDASSOA.

covering such ground. On the night before we marched, or at three o'clock in the morning of the 26th, I knew all that had passed on the first attack, and acted accordingly. Had I been as well informed, and had everything been communicated to me as punctually as on the next morning, the march of the several divisions would have been different. I should; and could have pressed them more on the 27th; there would not have been the risk and the apparent alarm as to head-quarters, &c., and we should have probably stopped the French sooner. As it is, however, and as I had men who could fight, as the English did when they recovered the hill which had been lost, it has all ended well.'"[1]

Two days after this check at Sauroren, Soult retreated over the Bidassoa, and ranged his still powerful army in the strong positions that awaited them on the soil of France, extending from Fort St. Anne at the mouth of the Bidassoa to the hill of the great Rhune, which had been strongly fortified. Between the two ends of this line of defence lofty and difficult hills and rocks, all more or less entrenched, completed their formidable barrier to the invaders. The Bidassoa, too, with its heavy and strong flood, presented very serious difficulties. Wellington, however, had elicited from the pilots accustomed to the river, that at spring tide, for two hours only, at the turn of low water, it was temporarily fordable at its mouth, and that at this point alone its stream was not guarded. As soon therefore as St. Sebastian had fallen before our second assault, on October 7, the left wing under Sir T. Graham passed in three columns by the two fords—one above, and the other below the bridge, unperceived by the French until half across the river. Other troops followed, and after a desperate struggle the whole of the right of the French defences from the village of Andaye at the mouth of the river to the Montagne Verte on the heights of Mandale in the left centre, were carried. The

[1] F. S. Larpent (Judge-Advocate), vol. ii. 71-73. Napier, 'Peninsular War,' v. 226, calls the place "Sauroren," where there is a bridge over the Arga river. Mr. Larpent, as are most of the diarists, is very often inaccurate in the names of places and the spelling of them. In the 'Despatches' it is spelt "Sorauren."

attack on the Great Rhune was entrusted to the Spaniards of the army of reserve of Andalusia, and right well on this occasion did they do their duty.

The Attack on the Great Rhune.

"These troops," wrote Wellington, "carried everything before them in the most gallant style till they arrived at the foot of a rock on which the Hermitage stands; and they made repeated attacks to take even that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up; and the enemy remained during the night in possession of the Hermitage, and on a rock on the same range of mountains with the right of the Spanish troops. Some time elapsed yesterday morning (October 8), before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable me to reconnoitre the mountain, which I found to be least inaccessible by its right, and that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack on the works in front of the camp of Sarre. I accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to their right, and as soon as the concentration commenced, Mariscal de Campo Don P. A. Giron ordered the *batallon de Las Ordenes* to attack the enemy's post on the rock, on the right of the position occupied by his troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. These troops followed up their success, and carried an entrenchment on a hill, which protected the right of the camp of Sarre; and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments from the seventh division, sent by Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie, through the Puerto de Echalar, for this purpose. Don P. A. Giron then established the *batallon de Las Ordenes* on the enemy's left, on the rock of the Hermitage. It was too late to proceed further last night; and the enemy withdrew from their post on the Hermitage, and from the camp of Sarre, during the night.

"The attack made by the battalion of Las Ordenes, under the command of Col. Hore, was made in as good order and with as much spirit as any that have been made by any troops."[1]

Thus in six months from the final advance into Spain, Wellington had "hustled the French" out of that country, and achieved the object of the passage of the Ebro and the battle of Vittoria. With a loss slightly less than that of the French, the first mountain defence of France had been stormed and turned by the allies, and the invasion of French territory commenced.[2]

For five years the soldiers of England and France had been almost daily engaged in bitter conflicts, and learned to respect each other's gallantry and steadiness, and to regard each other as opponents rather than as enemies. Hence arose a chivalrous good-feeling between them, which Wellington constantly encouraged. It will be convenient to group together the following illustrations of this friendliness between the armies (though referring to incidents of various dates), as recorded by Judge-Advocate Larpent, M. Maurel in his 'Life of Wellington,' and Mr. Croker and others.

Good Feeling between the Armies in Spain.

"The French and English armies, as they became better acquainted by frequent contact, grew to be very civil to each

[1] To Earl Bathurst, Lesaca, October 9, 1813.

[2] In his address to his army, to the command of which he had been appointed on July 1, Soult attributed the previous losses of the French to the incompetency of their generals, and whilst admitting that the dispositions and arrangements of Wellington had been prompt, skilful, and consecutive, and the valour and steadiness of his troops praiseworthy, declared that they owed their present military character to the example set by the French soldiers. He had come, he said, "to drive the enemy from the heights which enable him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and drive him across the Ebro." In conclusion he added, 'Let the account of our success be dated from Vittoria, and the birth of his Imperial Majesty be celebrated in that city.' By that day, Aug. 16, Soult had been forced to retreat within the frontier of France.

other, especially after we had passed the Pyrenees, and the advanced posts and pickets were on the most friendly terms. One instance I particularly remember. There was a small public-house beyond the Adour, where the English used to cross over and sup with the French officers. In the line before Bayonne, a French officer came out one day to our advanced posts, and saluting the English officer, inquired whether one of our parties had not possessed themselves of three muskets and sets of accoutrements of a French party. Inquiry was made and the arms, &c., were found. It appeared that the English soldiers had given the French some dollars to buy them bottles of brandy, and not trusting entirely to the honour of the enemy, had insisted on keeping three muskets, &c., as a pledge that the brandy should be forthcoming. The dollars were paid and the French got their arms and accoutrements again. The advanced posts always gave notice to each other when they were in danger. On one occasion, when the French army was suddenly in force advancing, the French post cried to ours, '*Courez vite, on va vous attaquer.*' I always encouraged this. The killing a poor fellow of a vedette, or carrying off a post could not influence the battle, and I always, when going to attack, sent to tell them to get out of the way.[1]

"Some days before the battle of Salamanca, the two armies were encamped on the banks of the Douro, the soldiers crossed the river in numerous groups, visited each other as good friends, and chatted of the battles they had fought and were about to fight, so that at times the two camps might seem to belong to one army. The Duke one day ordered a detachment of carabineers to occupy a little hill at the advanced posts, where a very small French detachment happened to be stationed. As the carabineers advanced, the Duke, seeing no firing, sent an order to them to begin. 'Unnecessary,' said an old soldier, holding up his carbine,

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March 1853.

and playing on it with his fingers as if it had been a flute. This was meant as a telegraphic signal to say, 'We want the post for a quarter of an hour; you are not strong enough to hold it. Be off; you may return by-and-by.' The signal was understood and not a shot fired."[1]

Proximity of Pickets.

"Colonel S—— tells me he went to breakfast with Colonel H——, the Assistant-Adjutant-General of the sixth division at Ustaritz, and there they were, in a house with their breakfast-table within about fifty yards of the French sentry, and within about two hundred of the whole French picket, who by one volley might have broken all their cups and saucers, if not their heads. The other day a Portuguese brigade had a field-day close to the river in the meadows, and all the French came down to look at them, and I have no doubt, from the general report, to admire and approve; whilst, on the other hand, in the meadows on the French side, the French conscripts are brought down to be drilled. Sometimes five or six squads are seen at once, and any one of the sergeants might be knocked on the head all the time by our sentries; but this was now all well understood, and we thus quietly bully or bravado each other."[2]

[1] Maurel's 'Life of Wellington,' p. 51. I have heard the late Major Bent, who was in the fighting 5th in the light division, say that the signal between the outposts was to hold the rifle either crossways or upright to show whether it was peace or war. Mr. C. Greville records the following instance of kind courtesy of Wellington to King Joseph. "Before Salamanca Wellington regularly intercepted French correspondence, and as one of Joseph's daughters was ill, daily intelligence came of her health, which he always sent to him—not the letters, but by a flag to the outposts, who said '*Allez dire au Roi qui sa fille porte mieux*, or as it might be.' 'Diary,' July 15, vol. iii.

[2] St. Jean de Luz, December 2, 1813. F. S. Larpent (Judge-Advocate) ii. 179.

Friendliness between the Armies.

"We carry on war in a very civilised manner, especially if a little anecdote I heard yesterday be correct. I was told that one of our officers, I believe Major Q——, was riding a troublesome horse close to the French pickets, and partly from the violence of his horse, and partly from his own inadvertence, he got close to a French sentinel. The latter called out several times that he was French, and ordered him off, and at last presented his bayonet. The horse still plunging on, and the officer apparently not understanding the man, the French sentry turned the horse the other way by the bridle, and sent him back without offering any harm to either beast or rider, though he might have killed or taken both." [1]

The Proposed Separation of the English and Portuguese Armies.

Hitherto the union between the troops of the Government of Portugal and those of England had greatly contributed to the successes of the allies, and the suggestion, which about this time appears to have been made, that the armies should be separated would, if carried out, in all probability have brought about disastrous results. On the part taken by English newspapers in this suggestion which, being coupled with injurious remarks on the part borne by the Portuguese troops in the campaign, led the Portuguese Minister to suggest an alteration of the system, which had worked so well, Wellington wrote the following indignant protest.—

"Our newspapers," he wrote to Sir C. Stuart, "do us plenty of harm by what they insert, but I never suspected that they could do us the injury of alienating by the newspaper

[1] St. Jean de Luz, March 4, 1814. F. S. Larpent (Judge-Advocate), ii. 226. For a further instance of this chivalrous feeling see *post* the anecdote of the Duke refusing to allow Buonaparte and his staff to be fired on in the morning of the battle of Waterloo.

statements. They may depend upon it, that, here, the Portuguese army and nation are rising in estimation every day, and I recommend them to despise every insinuation to the contrary.

"Don M. Fergaz (a Portuguese minister) is the ablest statesman and man of business that I have seen in the Peninsula; but I hope that he will not be induced by such folly as the contents and omissions of our newspapers, to venture upon altering a system, which, up to the present day, has answered admirably, and contributed in a principal degree to our great and astonishing success, and has enabled the Portuguese Government and nation to render such services to the cause, and has raised their reputation to the point at which it now stands.

"I have not time or inclination now to enter upon all that I have to say on this subject. I believe, however, that I may claim the credit of understanding something about the organisation of an army, at least of that part which goes to the subsistence of the troops. If Don M. Fergaz will give me that credit, you may tell him from me that if the Portuguese troops were separated from the British divisions, nay more, that if the British department did not assist the Portuguese troops, and they were not considered, as they are considered to all intents and purposes, part of ourselves, they could not keep the field in a respectable state, even were the Portuguese Government to incur ten times the expenses they now incur.

"Let Don Fergaz bear this in mind; let him understand that if he has not his troops in the best order, in the best state of equipment, fully found in everything they want, and managed with intelligence, they can acquire no honour in, but cannot come out of, the contest without dishonour, and he will see the necessity of keeping matters as they are.

"At all events let us keep clear of the disputes, in which I see, that, notwithstanding the temper with which things

have been managed, we are getting more deep daily with the democratic party. All that I can say is, that if we begin to disagree about such nonsense as the contents and omissions of newspapers *I quit the Peninsula for ever.*"[1]

[1] To his Excellency Sir C. Stuart, K.B., Vera, October 11, 1813. With the arrangements for the maintenance, &c., of the Spanish forces the commander-in-chief took no part; he only commanded in the field. The anti-English party in the regency complained that the Portuguese troops were so incorporated with the British and commanded by British officers and victualled with the British that they had no recognised existence, and the glory of the country suffered; they were not praised in despatches, newspapers, and Parliament like the Spanish. Fergaz therefore proposed to separate the armies and to take the command himself. The party really wanted to have the cost of the Portuguese troops paid to them in cash and not subtracted from the subsidy. In reply to Wellington's threat, however, Fergaz saw the wisdom of dropping the affair. See Napier, vol. iv. Book xxii. c. vi.

CHAPTER VI.—1813–1814.

Entry into France—Orders to the Troops and the Inhabitants—The Duke's Discipline and Punishment of Plunderers during the War—The Comte Gerat—The Priest of St. Pe and the return of the Bourbons—Wellington in Toulouse—The Two Maires—Entry into Paris with Louis XVIII.—The Duke's opinions of Napoleon—As a General—Littleness of Mind—System of Secrecy—Superiority over his Marshals—Plans of Campaigns—Character—His whole Life a Fraud.

Orders to the Army—Entry into France.

PAMPLONA having surrendered on October 31, Wellington was now free to move into France with his whole army. The month consumed by the blockade of Pamplona had enabled Soult to raise formidable works along a new position, stretching from the coast in front of St. Jean de Luz across the Nivelle to the mountain-line between that river and the Nive. Along the entire line formidable fortifications crowned every accessible spot, and within these Soult had collected above 60,000 combatants. On November 9 and 10 the weak spot in these lines, which Wellington had detected, was successfully attacked, St. Jean de Luz taken and the whole line of Nivelle secured. Next day Soult halted for a time in his positions on the Nive, but the dispirited state of his troops and the unfinished state of some of his works rendering him unwilling to risk another battle except on very strong ground, he fell back to his entrenched camp round the city of Bayonne and the line of the Nive. The passage of the Nive was determined on, and effected so soon as the state of the roads would admit, and thus, despite vigorous attacks by Soult on the right and left of the allies, by December 13 his position was turned, and he was cooped

up between the entrenched camp at Bayonne and the river Adour and his communications and supplies threatened.

The spirit in which the invasion of France was conducted was as honourable to Wellington as any of his most brilliant victories. To marauding, the recognised custom of the French generals, he was the most determined enemy. He never hesitated to execute marauders even on the eve of a battle; and now, determined to carry out his principle, he sent back the bulk of Spanish troops to their own country when he found that, in revenge for the acts of the French troops when in Spain, they pillaged the inhabitants of the country without mercy, and that their generals, not only countenanced, but encouraged their brutal acts.

Immediately after the passage of the Bidassoa, he issued the following proclamation to the armies—

"Private property must be respected; officers and soldiers of the army must recollect that their nations are at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation will not allow them to be at peace; and they must not forget that most of the evils suffered by the enemy in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal have been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers, and their cruelties authorised and encouraged by their chiefs towards the unfortunate inhabitants of the country. To avenge this conduct upon the peaceable inhabitants of France would be unmanly and unworthy of the nations to whom the Commander of the Forces now addresses himself."[1]

The Duke's Discipline and his Orders to the Troops in France.

Although Wellington was, as has been already stated, a strict disciplinarian, he was ever ready to "season justice

[1] Lord William Lennox also gives some very interesting notes of the effectiveness of the Duke's discipline, especially with the attempts on the part of the soldiers to plunder the inhabitants.

with mercy." And whenever a prisoner was favourably recommended by the members of the Court-Martial, the culprit's pardon was almost invariably granted; in other instances, after carefully looking into the case, the Duke extended his forgiveness, "on consideration of the good conduct of the regiment to which the culprit belonged," or "of the former character of the prisoner," or "because subsequent to his crime the offender had been released from confinement, and had been actually engaged with the enemy," or "from a desire not to execute for desertion a soldier from such a regiment," or "from the conduct of the corps in such a battle," or "from its being the first complaint of misconduct in the battalion to which the prisoner belonged," or "from the thoughtlessness and levity of the offender." On one occasion we find the Duke pardoning a prisoner because he told the truth to the General Court-Martial, and thereby saved his comrades, who were by mistake charged with the offence, of which he had been convicted. Occasionally Wellington remitted punishment in deference to the Court, both of officers and men, but not from "concurring with their opinion"—often stating "that he did it much against his own inclination."[1]

He never pardoned plunderers.

"During the retreat of the British army at Leria, in Portugal, on the 3rd of October, 1810, when the enemy under Junot, were hard pressing the rear of our forces, then retiring on the lines of Torres Vedras, two soldiers, one an English, the other a Portuguese, belonging to battalions lately arrived in the vicinity of that city, left their colours and entered the town for the purpose of pillaging. Upon being discovered, they were brought before Wellington by the Deputy-Adjutant-General and Provost-Marshal. 'Who saw this man commit the act?' inquired the Commander of the Forces. The Provost-Marshal and another witness replied that they had found the prisoner in the act of plundering a shop, and assaulting a female who was attempting to defend her property; part of the stolen goods were in possession of

[1] Lord W. Lennox, pp. 222-3.

the accused. Having satisfied himself as to the guilt of the soldiers, the Duke turned to the Provost-Marshal, and in that brief expression, which ever characterised him, said, 'In ten minutes report to me that these men have been executed.' The order was promptly obeyed, and scarcely had the rear-guard of the English forces left Leria, than Junot, at the head of his corps, marched into the town. The first sights that met the attention of the French Marshal were the inanimate forms of the two culprits still suspended in the air. An English staff officer, who had remained behind, with a flag of truce, to attend to the wounded, was immediately questioned as to the offence for which the soldiers had suffered. 'Plundering and violence towards an inhabitant,' responded the surgeon. '*Ma foi!*' exclaimed Junot, '*La discipline anglaise est bien sévère.*'"[1]

"From Malplaquet, he issued an order to the troops to remember that their respective sovereigns were the allies of the King of France, and that France, therefore, ought to be treated as a friendly country. It was therefore required that nothing should be taken by officers and men for which payment was not made.

"When at a later period some highway robberies were committed by the British troops at Beauvais, the Duke wrote to the officer commanding, holding him responsible that a stop should be put to these disgraceful proceedings, and ordering, that if other means failed, 'Guards and a chain of vedettes in sight of each other should be placed on the high roads through the whole length of the cantonments, the rolls be called every hour, day and night, at which officers and men should be present.' The conduct of the British troops was excellent, that of the Dutch-Belgic very bad. Two officers of these were punished with the utmost rigour of martial law."[1]

[1] Lord W. Lennox, pp. 219–21.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 123–5.

These orders to his own troops were followed by a proclamation to the French people after the fall of Pamplona.[1]

"Aux Français.

"*Par le Feld-Maréchal Marquis de Wellington, Général en Chef des Armées Alliées.*

"Au Quartier Général, ce 1 Nov. 1813.

"En entrant dans votre pays, je vous annonce que j'ai donné les ordres les plus positifs, dont il y a ci-dessous traduction, pour prévenir les malheurs qui sont ordinairement la suite de l'invasion d'une armée ennemie (invasion que vous connaissez être la conséquence de celle que votre gouvernement avait fait de l'Espagne), et des succès des Armées Alliées sous mes ordres.

"Vous pouvez être assurés que je mettrai à exécution ces ordres; et je vous prie de faire arrêter et conduire à mon quartier général tous ceux qui, contre ces provisions, vous font du mal. Mais il faut que vous restiez chez vous, et que vous ne preniez aucune part dans les opérations de la guerre dont votre pays va devenir le théâtre."

These were no mere words. On the first act of insubordination or pillage the well-merited punishment was awarded, and many men of all nations expiated their cruelty and disobedience with their lives. The Anglo-Portuguese troops soon returned to their old discipline. In connection with these orders, we may quote the following letter to Lord

[1] Similar orders were issued to the allied forces on their entry into France after the battle of Waterloo. "As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are the allies of his Majesty the King of France, and that France ought, therefore, to be treated as a friendly country. It is therefore required that nothing should be taken either by officers or soldiers for which payment be not made."—General Order, Nivelles, June 20, 1815.

Palmerston in 1819 on the claim of a certain land-owner in the vicinity of Bayonne:—

Wellington and the Comte Gerat.

"When the army under my command entered the French territory, there can be no doubt that, according to the modern practice and laws of war introduced by the French themselves, and invariably adhered to during their invasion of Spain and Portugal, I might have required the invaded country to supply all the wants of the army without any payment whatever.

"I thought proper to issue the enclosed proclamation to the army referring to a general order, also enclosed, in which I promised protection to the inhabitants, and pointed out the mode in which they should obtain it, provided they should remain in their houses, and should not take any part in the operations of the army.

"M. le Comte Gerat had a property at Urdains, in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, at which he did not remain himself, nor did he leave any sufficient person in charge; and he was a senator of Buonaparte's Senate, residing at Paris.

"Whatever provisions and forage his house contained were taken for the use of, and consumed by, the tooops; and his house being conveniently situated for the purpose was converted into a military post; his trees cut down to form an abatis; and there is no doubt that Comte Gerat's property was very considerably damaged.

"I never considered, however, that Comte Gerat had any claim to remuneration, excepting on the generosity of the British nation. He had not complied with the terms of my proclamation, and had, therefore, no claim under that instrument; and I do not know of any other that he had."

The Duke then states that finding from the accounts of

the Commissary-General the value of the property actually taken from Urdains, and received by the troops, he directed 12,000 francs to be paid to the Comte.

"With respect to the damage done to his property by his house being converted into a military post, I should certainly never have thought it necessary to pay for it.

"*First.* I have never paid for such damage in any case whatever, whether in France, Spain, or in Portugal.

"*Secondly.* The French general never paid for such damage, even though the country he was defending was his own. It would be curious, then, if I were to allow a claim for damage in a country, which claim would not have been allowed by the French generals themselves.

"Besides the claim for losses and damage done at his residence at Urdains, M. Gerat brings forward another for losses and damage at Bassasarri. This village, still nearer Bayonne and the enemy's lines than the house at Urdains, was a frequent scene of contest between the two armies, during the winter of 1813–14. The French were in it some days before our troops occupied it at all, and I am much mistaken if there was an entire house, or a single article worth having in the village when first our troops occupied it. I am certain there were no inhabitants in it, and notwithstanding that I have made every inquiry, I have not been able to find that the commissaries took anything in that village which they could issue to the troops. I don't know how, therefore, it is possible to give M. Gerat anything for his supposed losses, which it is most probable were occasioned by the French troops."[1]

The effect of this last success of the British arms, coupled as it was with the receipt of the news that Germany had thrown off the yoke of France, was the immediate defection

[1] To Lord Palmerston, April 24, 1819.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. i. 57.

of the Frankfort and Nassau battalions, which with loud cheers came over to the allies, thus not only weakening Soult's forces, but compelling Suchet in Catalonia to disband his German troops.[1] At last the bulletins of Napoleon admitted that the allied armies were wintering on French soil. How they had come there was not revealed, but now that they were there, the French people were assured that it was only to ensure more completely their destruction that they were permitted to encamp on the sacred land. "Every day," said the French authorities, "the situation of the allied army was more and more perilous, its line of retreat was threatened, its convoys and provisions cut off or wrecked on the coast, and converted to the use of the French army." The advance of the allies, however, steadily continued, two divisions being left to blockade Bayonne, whilst the remainder followed the army of Soult, which had retreated to a new position on the line of the Adour.

The state of the weather rendered a forward movement impossible until the month of February, 1814. On the 27th, however, the victory at Orthez was achieved, and two days afterwards the Adour was passed at its mouth, thanks to the exertions of the fleet that lay off it, and Soult fell back on Toulouse which was protected by a series of strong defences. Again delayed by swollen rivers, it was not until March 23 that the allies were in position before the formidable defences by which that city was protected. Though aware that the Continental allies had entered Paris, Soult determined to resist to the uttermost, and on April 10 the last terrible battle of the war was fought, and thousands fell ere Toulouse was taken, and Soult had been forced to retire from his last battle-field. Next day Soult and Wellington knew of the abdication of Napoleon, and the latter offered an armistice. Finding, however, that Soult was only nogotiating in order to gain time, on the 17th Wellington put his army in motion and was rapidly approaching the French position, when Soult submitted to the provisional government, and the war that had lasted for six years without intermission was closed.

With the grave question of the restoration of the Bourbons

[1] At the same time Wellington's army was weakened by the drafting some battalions for the unnecessary expeditions to Hanover and Holland projected by the ministry.

Wellington refused to take any part beyond that related in the following conversation with Mr. Croker.

The Priest of St. Pe and the Return of the Bourbons.

"There is a little village called St. Pe, where I was stopped a day or two by bad weather; I was lodged at the Curé's, a good old man, from whose conversation about the state of France I received lights which had important results. He was very clever and well informed, and took not only *right* but *large* views of things; he confirmed all I had read on Faber, and gave me such valuable intelligence as to the state and spirit of the whole of the South of France, that I repeated it in a despatch to Government at home, and I read the despatch to the Duc de Guiche, then an officer in our army, whom I purposely sent home with it, and whom I authorised to tell the contents to Monsieur (Charles X.). I concluded by suggesting the appearance of one of the Princes with my army. This despatch, all founded on my conversation with this old priest, appeared so satisfactory and convincing, that the Duke of Angoulême, now Dauphin, came out immediately.

"When the business was done I did not forget the old priest. He would not quit his little parish, but the king did something for him which made him happy. He did not, however, live long to enjoy it. He was a man of superior talents and sagacity; he had in early life been in good society. I think he had even been about Versailles, and my meeting him in that remote and muddy village, and spending two rainy days with him, had perhaps some influence on the destinies of the House of Bourbon." [1]

When that event occurred, the following scene was witnessed in the theatre at Toulouse:—

[1] Croker, 'Conversations,' 1826.

Wellington in Toulouse.

"Just as we were sitting down to dinner—about forty of us, General Frere and several Spaniards, General Picton, and Baron Alten, the principal French, &c.—in came Cooke with the despatches (the peace). The whole was out directly, champagne went round, and after dinner Lord Wellington gave 'Louis XVIII.,' which was very cordially received with three times three, and white cockades were sent for to wear at the theatre in the evening. In the interim, however, General Alava got up, and with great warmth gave Lord Wellington's health, as *El Liberador de España.* Every one jumped up, and there was a sort of general exclamation from all the foreigners—French, Spanish, Portuguese, Germans, and all—*El Liberador de España! Liberador de Portugal! Le Libérateur de la France! Le Libérateur de l'Europe!* And this was followed, not by a regular three times three, but a cheering all in confusion for nearly ten minutes. Lord Wellington bowed, confused, and immediately called for coffee.

"We then all went to the play. The public were quite in the dark as to what had just arrived, but Lord Wellington was received in the stage box (where he sat supported by Generals Picton, Frere, and Alava, &c., and also the Maire) with no little applause, I can assure you. At the door the people would scarcely take the money from us; and in the opposite stage box the French left the box themselves and made room for us. We had our white cockades on the breast. The English officers in the house stared, and did not know what to make of it. Some thought it a foolish, giddy trick. In about ten minutes Lord Wellington turned his hat outwards to the front of the box; it was seen, and a shout ensued immediately. The play was *Richard, oh mon Roi*—fixed upon really before the news came. The *Henri IV.* was played, and then the new French Constitution was

read aloud from one of the boxes. The people most anxious, in general pleased; in some things not. This was followed by 'God save the King,' which was received with great applause."[1]

How he dealt with officials such as the refractory Maires of French towns at this crisis is told by the Judge-Advocate.

Wellington and the Two Maires.

"The Maire of Galan—a town on the road to Toulouse—had been an hour in the room with Lord Wellington before he found him out; talking by the fire in his quarters, until at last Lord Wellington, having let him go on for some time, asked him to dinner. This staggered him, and led to an explanation. The Maire said that the night before he had had Generals Causel and Harispe, and that they only ordered a dinner to be prepared, and did not ask him to eat part of his own, or thanked him, or took the least notice of him. He could not believe, therefore, that Lord Wellington was the enemy's general, having been so treated, as he said, 'like a dog' by his friends.

"The Maire of Boulognes ran away at first. At night he came back and went to Lord Wellington. He showed him his proclamations and regulations, &c. (Wellington's). The Maire said he had taken the oath to Buonaparte, and would not act. 'Very well,' said Lord Wellington, 'then the people must choose another; but now you have taken your line, I must take mine, and send you over the Garonne into the French lines.' He gave orders accordingly to Colonel S——. The Maire ran away and could not be found. Colonel S—— took up the father to march him off until the son appeared. This brought him out; he remonstrated with Lord Wellington, said he was one of the first men of the

[1] F. S. Larpent (Judge-Advocate), 'Journal,' vol. iii. 138–40.

country, &c., and should be ruined by this. Lord Wellington said: 'He should have thought of that sooner, and he must go;' and to this place—Isle-en-Dodon—he came to-day a prisoner.[1]

"*Samatan, March* 14.—The Maire of Boulognes continues his route with us, looking very forlorn, and with three staff corps men round him, our *gens-d'armes.* He began to repent to-day, and offered to act as Maire, but Lord Wellington said it was too late. He then wrote to his wife, saying 'he was a martyr to his principles,' &c., when his offers had been refused. So much for the principles of this good friend of Buonaparte. Had his offer been accepted he would have gone on as Maire."[2]

Thus by patience, perseverance, and self-confidence, Wellington with inferior means achieved that victory over the armies of Napoleon which the Continental powers had failed to obtain with their huge armies.

"When Wellington entered the scene," says M. Maurel, "the great Continental powers had thrice entered the ring, and thrice received a fall; nor did they seem to have profited by this lesson. Their finest armies had been beaten, and their most renowned commanders had shown their inability to match the common foe. These Continental powers were endowed with resolution and patriotism; they were governed by statesmen of consummate ability, but *they wanted a general.* They wished to recover what they had lost in a day with equal facility, and by playing the same losing game. Wellington marked the error of such a system, as he had years before marked that of the French tactics against steady troops. He was aware that fortune could not change sides at a leap, and that it is only after repeated trials that you could win her favours. He saw at once that Napoleon was not to be beaten *à la Napoléon*—with his own weapons;

[1] F. S. Larpent (Judge-Advocate), 'Journal,' vol. iii. 77-9. [2] *Ib.*, iii. 84

that it was folly to stake all on one cast of the die, and to beard his colossal antagonist in his stronghold; and before gaining victories it was necessary to begin by learning to avoid defeats, and for a time to avoid all engagements."[1]

On May 4, the Bourbons returned to Paris. How Wellington was received by the crowds that thronged to see the show of the King's arrival, is amusingly told by the late Lord Broughton.

Wellington and the Entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris.

"The curiosity of curiosities was our Wellington on a white horse, in a plain blue frock-coat, white neckcloth, and a round hat, riding between General Stewart and Lord Castlereagh. As soon as his presence was known, there was a great bustling and whispering. A friend of mine who was in a window with the sovereigns told me that when it was first known that he was there, the emperors and kings stretched forward to get a sight of him. I saw the Duchess d'Angoulême point him out to them, and when Platow and Sacken were introduced to him, they would hardly let his hand go. I heard that Platow said to him, 'Had you been here we should have done that sooner.' To which the Duke replied, 'It could not have been in better hands.' I felt for my part an insatiable desire to see him, and ran many chances of being kicked and trampled down to get near our great man. Two Englishmen near me showed as much eagerness as myself to approach him, and one of them as he passed by me said, 'Oh, for God's sake let me see him! I know you will excuse me, sir, for this, but I must see him.' Two strangers in plain clothes were introduced to him, and almost kissed the ground at his horse's feet. A crowd gathered round him and attended him to his lodgings. He had just arrived from Toulouse, after travelling a night and a day. I

[1] 'Life of Wellington,' by M. Maurel.

heard he was much struck by the appearance of the Russian cavalry, and said to Sir C. Stuart, 'Well to be sure, we can't turn out anything like this.' Sir Charles told him very truly they were picked for the occasion." [1]

Wellington's opinion of his great antagonist and his tactics will be judged from the following anecdotes :—

Napoleon as a General.

"If I am to believe Segur and all the other accounts of the Russian campaign, Buonaparte committed the most egregious faults of generalship and conduct. Time was everything, and I can show on paper, out of his own reports and returns, that he lost *seven* weeks in point of time in the advance to Moscow. He made also a false movement in changing his line upon Minsk, which had, *inter alia*, the disadvantage of bringing him nearer to the South Russian army, when he might have attained his object in another way (which the Duke explained, but which I cannot pretend to follow), without these disadvantages. He lost a good deal also by what looks like indolence; he was often absent when he ought and might have been present, for instance, at Valentina, I think it was, when he heard the firing, and sent orders and might have come up; if he had, he would have put an end to a dispute between his generals, and probably have had a decided success. His personal proceedings previous to and during the battle of Borodino are inexplicable. Some of his apologists attribute it to sudden illness, but that does not account for the details, unless the illness was so serious as to derange his understanding. His conduct in all these cases is not easily accounted for. I believe he was more in awe of

[1] Lord Broughton (Cam Hobhouse), 'Recollections of a Long Life,' privately published, vol. i. 43. Cited in article in *Edinburgh Review*, April 1871.

his marshals than was generally supposed—he acted as if he was not sure of their obedience. For instance, he would order one of them to take another under his command, but he never ventured to tell the other to obey him (of course the two fellows got into a quarrel directly); or was he afraid that any of them, if too successful, might eclipse him? But there were none that I know anything about, except Massena, who had any pretensions in comparison with him." [1]

Buonaparte's Littleness of Mind.

"Buonaparte's mind was, in its details, low and ungentlemanlike. I suppose the narrowness of his early prospects and habits stuck to him; what *we* understand by *gentlemanlike* feelings he knew nothing at all about; I'll give you a curious instance.

"I have a beautiful little watch, made by Breguet, at Paris, with a map of Spain most admirably enamelled on the case. Sir Edward Paget bought it at Paris, and gave it to me. What do you think the history of this watch was—at least the history that Breguet told Paget and Paget me? Buonaparte had ordered it as a present to his brother, the King of Spain, but when he heard of the battle of Vittoria—he was then at Dresden in the midst of all the preparations and negotiations of the armistice, and one would think sufficiently busy with other matters—when he heard of the battle of Vittoria, I say, he remembered the watch he had

[1] Croker, 'Conversations,' 1826, vol. i. 338-9.—It was the Duke's opinion, according to Mr. C. Greville, that in the campaign of 1814 Napoleon was ruined by his own impatience, and that had he continued his operations, he would have compelled the allies to retreat before Wellington could have got up ('Greville Memoirs,' 2nd series, ii. 193). It is evident from General Von Muffling's account of this portion of the war, that Blucher alone was in earnest in pressing Napoleon, and that the Emperor of Austria, on Marie Louise's account, was anxious to stop the invasion at the Rhine.

ordered for one whom he saw would never be King of Spain, and with whom he was angry for the loss of the battle, and he wrote from Dresden to countermand the watch, and if it should be ready, to forbid its being sent. The best apology one can make for this strange littleness is, that he was offended with Joseph; but even in that case, a *gentleman* would not have taken the moment when the poor devil had lost his *châteaux en Espagne* to take away his watch also.

"All these codicils to his will in which he bequeathed millions to the right and left, and amongst others left a legacy to the fellow who was accused of attempting to assassinate me, is another proof of littleness of mind; of the property he really had, he had already made his disposition. For the payment of all these other high-sounding legacies there was not the shadow of a fund. He might as well have drawn bills for ten millions on that pump at Aldgate (we had on our way driven past it). While he was writing all these magnificent donations, he knew that they were all in the air, all a falsehood. For my part, I can see no magnanimity in a lie; and I confess that I think one who could play such tricks but a shabby fellow."[1]

Jonathan Wild the Great.

"I never was a believer in him, and I always thought that in the long run we should overturn him. He never seemed himself at ease, and even in the boldest things he did there was always a mixture of apprehension and meanness. I used to call him *Jonathan Wild the Great*, and at each new *coup* I used to cry out 'Well done, Jonathan,' to the great scandal of some of my hearers. But the truth was, he had no more care about what was right or wrong, just or unjust, honourable

[1] Croker, vol. i. 339–40.

or dishonourable, than *Jonathan*, though his great abilities, and the great stakes he played for, threw the knavery into the shade."[1]

Buonaparte's System of Secrecy.

"I am not sure that the greatest pleasure I ever felt in my military life was not the evening of the day we crossed the *Nivelle*. We took a kind of redoubt, in which was a French battalion and its lieutenant-colonel. I had a mind to be civil to him, and asked him to dinner. He came and was very sulky. My staff were pressing him with questions, to which he gave no answers, or very dry ones. I, however, interfered quietly, whispered to them to let him alone, and after a good dinner, and a few glasses of Madeira, our friend would mend. So in course of the evening I saw he was in better humour, and then I apologised for the fare I was obliged to give him, and still more for the apartment in which it was served—it was a wretched kind of barn. 'But you,' I said, 'who served all over the world, have probably been used to such things, and indeed your Emperor himself must of late have had some hard nights' lodging; and, by the way,' I added, 'where was he *quartier général* when you last heard of him?' '*Monseigneur*,' said our man, with a tragic grimace, '*il n'y a plus de quartier général.*' He alluded to the rout of Leipsic, and then I saw my way clearly to Bordeaux and Paris; for besides what the officer could tell, I calculated that the disaster must have been very great to have reached him at all: for it is truly astonishing in what a degree of ignorance as to all that was passing he (Buonaparte) contrived to keep all France. We found people who had never heard of the battle of Trafalgar; and the South of France could hardly believe their eyes when they saw us come down from the Pyrenees! but he kept the rest of the world in the same

[1] Croker, 'Conversations,' 1826, vol. i. 340.

ignorance of what was going on in France. I confess the first light I ever received on that subject was from Faber's book, which was reviewed in the *Quarterly Review*, and which I think you (Croker) sent me. It was a most able, and at the time valuable work. . . . . Posterity will hardly credit the success and extent of that system of darkness which Buonaparte spread over France, but it was so complete that even I, who had been for so many years in contact with his armies, and was now for many months on his frontier, was glad to glean from any precarious and humble sources some knowledge of the real state of the interior." [1]

Superiority of Buonaparte over his Marshals.

"The Duke said 'The perfection of practical war was to move troops as steadily and coolly on a field of battle as on parade. Soult's fault was that, though a great strategist, he never seemed to me to know how to handle the troops after the battle was begun.' I then told the Duke what Guizot told me of Lannes having said that '*Le plus grand général était celui que la cannonade faisait mieux entendre, et que la fumée faisait voir plus clair.*'

"*The Duke:* 'Humph!' (a pause). 'That's only a cleverer phrase for what I have just been saying—*sang-froid*—presence of mind; but that is not enough; the mind besides being cool, must have the art of knowing what is to be done and how to do it. I, of course, never met Lannes, he was killed in Germany; but I have seen most of the other marshals, and I have no doubt that as a general Buonaparte was the best of them. Yes, Buonaparte was the best of them, and with his prestige worth 40,000 men. When I met all the great allied generals in Paris in 1814, they were

[1] Croker, 'Conversations,' 1826, vol. i. 341. Faber's *Notices sur l'Intérieur de France, écrites en* 1806 (St. Petersburg, 1807), was reviewed by Mr. Croker in the *Quarterly Review*, August 1811.

so good as to compliment me on my successes in Spain. I told them, that I quite agreed in the estimate that I had heard made, that the presence of Buonaparte was as good as 40,000 men. As I had never met Buonaparte, and as they *all* had been beaten by him *in person*, my allusion to that estimate was received as a compliment by them, and modesty on my part; but I really believe it was true of the Continental armies. Yes, Buonaparte was certainly the best of them, and with his prestige worth 40,000 men.' "[1]

Buonaparte's Plans of Campaigns.

"Mr. Gleig mentioned Buonaparte's plans of campaigns. The Duke said 'Pooh'; he had no general preconceived plan of a campaign, as he owned. In one of his campaigns (that of 1809) General Wrede, the Bavarian, commanded the army which Buonaparte was assembling. When he came, on his arrival Wrede expressed a hope that his measures might be found to fall in with His Imperial Majesty's plan of the campaign. Buonaparte immediately said that he never had a general plan of campaign; that he collected his forces together well as he could and then acted *pro re natâ*, as he thought best: adding that Wrede had done exactly what he would have wished by concentrating the army as much as possible, and handing it over to him to be employed according to the circumstances of the moment. 'This,' said the Duke, 'I had from General Wrede himself.'"[2]

Napoleon's Character.

"Buonaparte's whole life—civil, political, and military—was a fraud. There is not a transaction, great or small, in which lying and fraud was not introduced; but one must have

[1] Croker, Folkestone, Sept. 2nd, 1852, vol. iii. 277.
[2] Croker, Walmer, 1831, vol. ii. 123–4.

a perfect recollection of facts, and be enabled to correct one's memory by documents in order to be able to write of them with authority."

"Of flagrant lies, the two most important to the military branch of his life that I can now recollect are—first, the expedition from Egypt into Syria, which totally failed, and yet on his return to Egypt was represented to the army there as a victory; there were illuminations, &c. The next was the battle of Preussisch Eylau. This he represented as a great victory. It is true that the allied armies retired after the battle; so did Buonaparte. You will find the details of the Syrian affair in Bourrienne, where you likewise find Buonaparte's lies about the defeat of the fleet."

"I cannot tell you where you will find the details of the affair of Preussisch Eylau. I should think that Spain would afford you instances of fraud in his political schemes and negotiations. Cevallos will give you the details of the frauds by which Ferdinand was coaxed into a departure from Madrid, and afterwards from one town to another by a fresh lie, till he arrived at Bayonne, where he was seized as a traitor towards the government of his father. In the meantime, St. Sebastian, Pampeluna, Figueras, Barcelona, Spanish fortresses, were seized by some military trick or fraud and held by the French troops till deprived by us."[1]

"Buonaparte's foreign policy was force and menace, aided

[1] Buonaparte, according to Metternich, defended the lies in his bulletins saying, "*Ce n'est pas pour vous que je les écris; les Parisiens croient tout, et je pourrais leur conter de bien autres choses encore, qu'ils ne refuseraient pas à admettre.*" His hatred of Wellington went to the extent of denying him even military talent. See his saying to Las Casas at St. Helena that without Blucher's aid at Waterloo Wellington would never have been "His Grace," and that "Fortune had done for him more than he had ever done for her." Metternich's *Mémoires*, i. 282; Las Casas, vii. 275–7. (Wellington was created Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington, May 3, 1814, immediately after the battle of Toulouse, before Waterloo was dreamed of.)

by fraud and corruption. If the fraud was discovered, force and menace succeeded: and in most cases the unfortunate victim did not dare to avow that he perceived the fraud. He tricked the King of Spain, Charles IV., by the concession of the kingdom of Etruria to his son-in-law. He afterwards forcibly deprived the said King in order to put in his brother-in-law. In short, there is no end to the violence and fraud of his proceedings." [1]

[1] From letter of the Duke to J. W. Croker, Apethorpe, December 29, 1835, vol. ii. 235–6.

CHAPTER VII.—1815.

Ambassador at Paris and Vienna—Return of Napoleon from Elba—In Command of Allied Army in Flanders—The Evening before Quatre Bras—Conference with Blucher—The Battle of Quatre Bras—Retreat to Waterloo—Defence of Hougomont—Buonaparte at Waterloo—Dutch Troops—Close of the Battle—Wellington's Coolness—Gordon's Death—The Duke and his Losses at Waterloo—His Opinions on some Points of War—Numbers of Troops in his Great Battles.

The Campaign of Waterloo.

When the Duke returned to England in the June of 1814, after visits to Paris and Madrid, his reception by the Court, the Legislature, and the people was worthy of his great actions. In one day in the House of Lords, he went through the form of taking his seat as baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke—he had left England a knight, he returned in the highest step of the English peerage.[1] His answer to the address of the House of Commons was free from all personal allusion; in terse and manly language expressing his sense of the honour conferred on him, and his admiration for the great efforts of the Commons and the country, in times of unexampled pressure and difficulty, for supporting on a great scale the operations by which the contest had been brought to a happy conclusion. Returning to Paris as ambassador on January 24, 1815, he went to Vienna to assist at the Congress, where the allies were quarrelling

[1] Knight Commander of the Bath, September 18, 1804; Baron Douro and Viscount Wellington, August 26, 1809; Earl Wellington, February 18, 1812; Marquis Wellington, August 18, 1812; Knight of the Garter, 1813; Field-Marshal, July 3, 1813; Marquis Douro and Duke of Wellington, May 24, 1814.

over the repartition of the map of Europe.[1] One of the many suggestions made there, the Duke told Mr. Raikes, was the division of France into three parts, following Cæsar's account of Gallia in his day—a suggestion happily negatived for fear of leaving her too weak to act as a barrier against encroachments of the northern powers.

Proposed Partition of France.

"In the evening the Duke talked much of the treaties of Vienna in 1815, when he said it was once proposed to divide France into three parts according to Cæsar's Commentaries: '*Omnis Gallia in tres partes divisa est.*' But, said the Duke, our armies were not like the Roman army, compact and integral, but composed of different nations who had all their private objects in view, and would never have agreed as to the allotments. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to keep all in the present state as much as possible; that France should remain whole with certain boundaries, and sufficiently strong to make a *point de résistance* in the south against the power of Russia in the north."[2]

Whilst assisting at this Congress, the arrival of the news of the well-planned escape of Napoleon from Elba, and his successful landing near Cannes with a mere handful of troops, compelled the allies to once more unite against the common enemy. Though, no doubt, there were parties in France intriguing for his return, it was the Duke's opinion that Napoleon trusted to the state of feeling throughout the country, as he wrote to Mr. Croker in March 1851:—

[1] Russia claimed all Prussian Poland; Prussia offered her an equivalent from the territories of Saxony, which was resisted by Austria, France, and England. Each side suspended the disbanding of their troops. England marched troops into Belgium; Prussia prepared to retain her hold on Saxony. Austria, France, and England entered into a tripartite treaty to resist Russia and Prussia, and a new war seemed on the eve of breaking out when the news of Napoleon's escape arrived.

[2] Raikes, Walmer, October 9, 1843, vol. iv. 304.

The Return of Napoleon from Elba.

"I could not venture to assert that the removal of Buonaparte to St. Helena was never mentioned by anybody at the Congress of Vienna. But the subject certainly was never mentioned as a subject for consideration. If ever mentioned as a subject for consideration it would have been noticed in the despatches to the Foreign Office. Designs were entertained to depose Murat and to restore the former government. These were occasioned by his eccentricities and his tormenting the Pope. King Louis XVIII. was very anxious upon this subject. Certain favourite regiments of the French army, those bearing the names and titles of the royal family, were placed *en échelon* on the frontier, which was the cause of Buonaparte finding them there when he made his invasion in March.

"Though there was no conspiracy in Vienna against Buonaparte, there was a good deal in his favour in France. As well as I can recollect, there were not less than three military conspiracies to induce him to return; one at the head of which was General l'Allemand, another at the head of which was General d'Orsenne. These were independent of each other. He may have known of each and communicated with each, but my belief is that he founded his plan upon his knowledge of the general state of France and of the government of King Louis and of the army.

"He could not have suspected that there was a design to carry him off to St. Helena. If he had, he would have avoided to expose himself on his passage to the coast of France."[1]

This is confirmed by a letter of Prince Metternich to Lord Londonderry, March 13, 1815, in which he states that so little were the Austrian Cabinet anxious about Napoleon,

[1] The Duke to Croker, March 10, 1851.

that being awoke by his valet with the despatch containing the information from the Consul-General of Genoa at the escape, he placed it unopened under his pillow as an ordinary despatch, and went to sleep again, and only opened it after *un sommeil toutefois troublé.*

Prince Metternich also gives a curious account of how Talleyrand tried to mislead the sovereigns when they met to consider the report of Napoleon's escape.

"Talleyrand was the first to arrive, and after reading the despatch he asked Metternich, with his usual impassibility of countenance, whether he knew where Napoleon then was. Metternich replied that he knew no more than that he had escaped. 'Well,' replied Talleyrand, 'I tell you that at this moment he is in Switzerland.' 'Do you know this, or only think so?' replied Metternich. 'I think so and have no doubt about it.' 'As it seems,' replied Metternich, 'that we only think and do not know, I tell you that I should find Napoleon in the road that leads direct from the Mediterranean to Paris.'"[1]

Metternich was right, and Talleyrand evidently sought to mislead them.

The rapidity of his movements—a triumphal procession from the moment that he set foot in France—forced the allies into immediate action. By March 19, 1815, thanks to the return of some 200,000 of his veterans from the prisons of Germany, Napoleon was at the head of a powerful army, and the allies had to do their work over again. Four huge armies were ready to march against him. The Russo-Austrians from the upper Rhine; the Prussians on the lower Rhine; another Austrian force menacing Murat, now in arms for Napoleon in Italy; and the Anglo-Belgian forces under the Duke of Wellington in Flanders. On the suggestion of the Duke the Prussians were united with the Anglo-Belgian army, and thus about 200,000 men were arrayed in Flanders to meet the menaced invasion of the enemy.

[1] Metternich to Lord Londonderry, Bruxelles, March 13, 1815.

The Evening before Quatre Bras.

On hearing of Buonaparte's attack on the Prussians at Charleroi on June 15, Von Muffling asked the Duke whether and when he would concentrate his army, and in consequence of this news Blucher would concentrate his at Ligny, if he had not already taken up this position.

"The Duke replied: 'If all is as General Von Zieten supposes I will concentrate on my left wing, *i.e.* the corps of the Prince of Orange; I shall then be *à portée* to fight in conjunction with the Prussian army. Should, however, a portion of the enemy's forces come by Mons, I must concentrate more towards my centre. For this reason, I must positively wait for news from Mons before I fix the rendezvous. Since, however, the departure of the troops is *certain*, and only the place of rendezvous *uncertain*, I will order all to be in readiness, including the Brunswick corps in reserve, and will direct a brigade of light cavalry to march at once to Quatre Bras. Orders were accordingly despatched about 6 or 7 o'clock. Later in the same day intelligence of the commencement of hostilities, forwarded from Charleroi to Namur, reached me a second time from thence. The Field-Marshal (Blucher) informed me of his concentrating at Sombres, and charged me to give him speedy intelligence of the concentration of Wellington's army. I immediately communicated this to the Duke, who quite acquiesced in Blucher's dispositions. However, he could not resolve on fixing his point of concentration before receiving the expected news from Mons, but he promised to give me immediate notice when this arrived. He retained his aides-de-camp and secretaries in his business room.

"I went home after 10 o'clock, made out my report, having only to add in conclusion the places of rendezvous, and kept a courier in readiness at my door.

"Towards midnight the Duke entered my room and said 'I

have got news from Mons, from General Dornberg, who reports that Napoleon has turned towards Charleroi with all his forces, and that there is no longer any enemy in front of him; therefore orders for the concentration of my army at Nivelles and Quatre Bras are already despatched. The numerous friends of Napoleon who are here (as towards the evening the cannonade could be distinctly heard before the gates of Brussels) will raise their heads; and the well-disposed must be tranquillised; let us therefore go, all the same, to the ball of the Duchess of Richmond; after which, about 5 o'clock, we can ride off to the troops assembled at Quatre Bras.'

"All took place accordingly; the Duke appeared very cheerful at the ball, where all the great people of Brussels were collected; he remained there until 3 o'clock and about 5 we were on horseback. We overtook the troops and reached Quatre Bras about 11 A.M., where the enemy had placed his advanced posts opposite the troops of Perponcher's division. As the enemy remained quiet, and intelligence had meanwhile reached me that the Prussian army was assembling at Ligny, the Duke thought it best to ride over to the Field-Marshal, and concert with him by word of mouth what measures must be taken for a decisive battle with our combined forces. This was immediately put in execution. On the way the Duke said to me, 'If, as seems likely, the division of the enemy's forces posted at Frasnes, opposite Quatre Bras, is inconsiderable, and only intended to mask the English army, I can employ my whole strength in support of the Field-Marshal, and will gladly execute all his wishes in regard to joint operations.'"[1]

When the two generals met at the Windmill of Bry, Von Gneisenau proposed that the Duke should first concentrate the English army at Quatre Bras, then march to the left on the *chaussée* to Namur and place itself as a reserve in

[1] Von Muffling, 228–30.

the rear of the Prussian army at Bry. The impossibility of such a movement being successfully made, was explained by Von Muffling, who suggested another course. All that the Duke said was, "Well, I will come, *provided I am not attacked myself*," and then rode back to Quatre Bras. On his arrival there he found Perponcher's division fully engaged with Ney's greatly superior forces.

"The Duke," writes Von Muffling, "endeavoured to impose on his antagonist by a firm attitude, and gained so much time that Picton was able to arrive at Quatre Bras, and deploy on the road."

"But even now, with his two divisions, Wellington was hardly half as strong as Marshal Ney; and he had no expectation of being reinforced shortly, except by the Brunswick corps of about 8,000 men."

"In this very critical moment the Duke took a resolution worthy of a great commander: he directed his left wing to attack the village of Pernimont already lost, and proceeded to meet Marshal Ney with all the strength he possessed."

"The Marshal, who had his right wing resting on Pernimont, his centre at the farm and his left on the wood, pressed forward, *tambour battant*, in columns three deep with small intervals."

"The weakness of the English army, advancing to meet the French, was concealed from them by the tall corn; two 9-pounder batteries effectively enfiladed the right wing column. On its falling into disorder a pause ensued; reinforcements arrived to the Duke on two sides: he gained the most complete victory."[1]

"The first intelligence I sent the Prince, after our return from the Windmill (at Bry) could leave no doubt of the Duke's inability to come to his assistance; nevertheless by a brave resistance he had rendered him the great service of keeping back and occupying 30,000 of the enemy—precisely Napoleon's superiority over the Prussian army."[2]

[1] Von Muffling, 337-8. [2] *Ibid.*

The following account of this severe engagement was thus related to Mr. Croker in 1845.

The Battle of Quatre Bras.

"I reached the field twice on the day in question, the first time at about ten o'clock in the morning, having quitted Bruxelles before daylight. I found there the Prince of Orange with a small body of Belgian troops, two or three battalions of infantry, a squadron of Belgian dragoons, and two or three pieces of cannon which had been at Quatre Bras ('the four roads') since the preceding evening.

"It appeared that the picket of this detachment had been touched by a French patrol, and there was some firing, but very little; and of so little importance that after seeing what was doing I went to the Prussian army, which I saw from the ground was assembling on the field of St. Amand and Ligny, about eight miles distant.

"I reached the Prussian army; was at their head-quarters; stayed there a considerable time; saw the army formed,[1] the commencement of the battle; and returned to join my own army assembled and assembling at Quatre Bras.

"I arrived at Quatre Bras a second time on that day, as well I recollect, at about two o'clock in the afternoon.

"The straggling fire there had continued from morning; the Prince of Orange was with the line of troops still in the same position. I was informed that the enemy was collecting in a wood in front. I rode forward and reconnoitered and examined their position according to my usual practice.

"I saw clearly a very large body of men assembled and a maréchal reviewing them, according to their usual practice

[1] The Duke at once perceived a grave defect in the Prussian formation and pointed it out to Blucher. He made light of the objection, and was summarily defeated by the French, as the Duke told to Sir H. Hardinge on the spot.—I. M.

preparatory to an attack. I heard distinctly the usual cries, "*En avant! En avant! L'Empereur récompensera celui qui s'avancera.*" Before I quitted the Prince of Orange some of the officers standing about doubted whether we should be attacked at this point.

"I sent to the Prince of Orange from the ground on which I was standing to tell him he might rely on it that we should be attacked in five minutes, and that he had better order the retreat towards the main position of the light troops and guns that were in front, and which could make no resistance to the fierce attack about to be made upon us.

"These were accordingly withdrawn, and in less than five minutes we were attacked by the whole army under Maréchal Ney. There was, in fact, no delay nor cessation from attack from that time till night.

"The reserves of the British army from Bruxelles had arrived at Quatre Bras at this time; and the corps of Brunswick troops from the head-quarters, and a division of Belgian troops from Nivelles, Braine, &c. There were originally on the ground two corps of the French army, or 40,000 men. But of these at least one half moved off to their own right, that is, towards the left of the French army engaged with the Prussians under the direction of the Emperor himself. I saw this movement, but could not easily comprehend its meaning.

"I was enabled to defend our position from the first. We were receiving reinforcements constantly, and at last were stronger than the enemy.

"These are the facts I recollect. I could not have said that there was any delay or slackness in the French attack. It was as fierce as I ever witnessed."[1]

[1] The Duke to Mr. Croker, January 28, 1845, in reply to a letter from J. W. C. relating to a statement of Count Walewski that some years ago the Duke stated to him that the attack of the French was slack, and delayed evidently to raise the suspicion that the battle was only a feint.

On the 17th, the Duke drew back his army to the position of Waterloo, a position he had previously selected as the best for the defence of Brussels. How this movement was arranged with Blucher is told by General von Muffling, the Prussian officer attached to the Duke's army. "The Duke allowed his people to cook after Quatre Bras, at the risk of some sharp fighting on the part of his rear-guard. At nine o'clock, an officer arrived from Wavre (whither Blucher had retreated) with verbal messages to me, just as I was sitting with the Duke on the ground. I knew that this officer spoke French and English, and, therefore, indicated to him by a motion of my hand that he might say to the Duke what he had to report to me. He did so, the Duke put some questions, received sensible and satisfactory replies, and by these was induced to declare to me that 'he would accept a battle on the position of Mont St. Jean, if the Field-Marshal were inclined to come to his assistance with even one corps only.'" Von Muffling in consequence made the arrangement by which, just before the first desperate attack by Napoleon, Bulow's corps entered the field on the right of the French at Planchenois. General Von Muffling furnishes the following account of the defence of Hougomont.

The Defence of Hougomont.

"Not fearing for his centre and left wing, I considered his right wing the weakest point; and Hougomont in particular I deemed untenable in a serious assault by the enemy. This the Duke disputed, as he had put the old castle in a state of defence, and caused the long garden wall towards the field of battle to be crenellated; and, he added, 'I have thrown Macdonnell into it'—an officer on whom he placed especial reliance. 'But how will it be,' replied I, 'if the enemy advances on the Nivelles road, towards which the garden of Hougomont has no wall but only a very light indefensible hedge, and consequently all but the house must be given up? But the house, without the garden, will not hinder in the least the attack on the English right wing.' I repaired

thither with the Duke; he drew in his right wing (which was extended to Braine-la-Leud), raised a battery which swept the Nivelles road, and stationed some infantry in its rear, to cover by offensive movements the access to the garden from this side."[1]

Towards the conclusion of the battle when the French were beginning to retreat, the Duke met Von Muffling near Haye Sainte, and called out to him, "Well, you see Macdonnell has held Hougomont." On the 18th, the decisive victory of Waterloo was won—the first and only occasion on which the two greatest generals of the age met in arms. Of this oft-told battle we have the following illustrations:—

Buonaparte at Waterloo.

When asked "Were you close enough to see Buonaparte at Waterloo?"—

"*The Duke:* 'Why we were close enough to see, but not to distinguish. In the morning before the battle began, I could see a body of officers moving along their lines, and we had no doubt that this was Buonaparte and his staff. I think we heard the cries "*Vive l'Empereur!*" but I can't say that I distinguished his person. A battery near me had a mind to fire upon this assemblage, but I stopped them.'"

When asked was not this over-nice, as one that would have saved thousands of lives—

"*The Duke:* 'It may be so, but that was my way of carrying on the war throughout. I discouraged surprises of outposts, and the firing on sentries and vedettes; the death of a few poor fellows thus picked off does no service. To be

[1] Von Muffling, 243.

sure when the fate of those two great armies, and indeed of all Europe, was concentrated on a single man, as in this case, the general rule might not apply, but I felt at that moment about Buonaparte as I should have done about any general of his staff."[1]

The Dutch Troops at Waterloo.

"The prestige of Buonaparte," said the Duke, "had an enormous influence on his troops. I'll give you an instance. There was a Dutch corps in the French army in the Peninsula, which I knew very well, for I had followed them from the Tagus to the Pyrenees, and they were always in the French rear-guard, and no men could behave better. On the counter-revolution in Holland they came over to us, and I sent them home by sea. The next time I saw my Dutch friends was on the field of Waterloo, where they were with the Dutch army under my orders; and knowing them to be steady, good soldiers, I placed them in the garden of Hougomont; but no sooner did they see the great columns of the French moving down upon them but they took fright and ran away, and I was obliged to go down to try and rally them, but I could not. The Austrian General Vincent was with me, and I said to him 'There are the troops with which I am to win this battle.' He shrugged his shoulders and said '*C'est bien malheureux.*' But luckily I had my own people at hand, and we kept Hougomont and won the battle without the help of my old acquaintances who were still possessed with the opinion of the invincibility of Buonaparte.

"This idea, which was even stronger amongst the officers of the Continental armies than the soldiers, had a most

[1] MS. notes, *Quarterly Review*, March 1853. After the battle of Busaco, when Wellington was reviewing his troops, the French general made one of his batteries fire on Lord Wellington as he rode along accompanied by his staff.—General Sir G. T. Napier, 147.

powerful influence over everybody—even emperors and kings; and you may judge what it must have had with his own troops."[1]

The Close of Waterloo.

"I certainly did not draw my sword. I may have ordered—I dare say I did order—the charge of cavalry, and pointed out its direction, but I did not charge as a common trooper.

"I have at all times been in the habit of covering as much as possible the troops exposed to the fire of cannon. I place them behind the top of rising ground, and make them sit and lie down, the better to cover them from the fire. After the fire of the enemy's cannon, the enemy's troops may have advanced, or a favourable opportunity of attacking might have arrived. What I must have said—and probably did say—was 'Stand up, guards!' and then gave the commanding officers the order to attack.

"My common practice in a defensive position was to attack the enemy at the very moment at which he was about to attack our troops."[2]

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March 1853, p. 540. Some of the Dutch corps behaved well, and three of them are favourably mentioned in the Waterloo despatch. In the article in the *Quarterly Review*, 1857, from which extracts have been previously taken, it is stated that the Duke in after years had often been heard to say that there were two or three periods of the battle when he thought it was all over with us. Mr. Croker, with whom the Duke so often and so fully spoke of this battle, emphatically denies that the Duke ever said anything of the kind, and states "that when the Duke was asked, as he was directly by me, and often by others in my presence, whether he was at any period seriously alarmed for the result, he would always answer 'Never.' I can positively assert that Alava, Lord Hill, Anglesey, and Raglan, and all that I ever talked with on the subject, united in stating that neither the Duke's confidence nor their own ever varied for a moment."—J. W. Croker to Mr. Murray, February 14, 1857, 'Diary,' vol. iii.

[2] The Duke to Mr. Croker without date, but certainly after March 14, 1852, when J. W. C. wrote to A. Greville, the Duke's private secretary, to ask the Duke about Lamartine's story of the Duke putting himself at the

Wellington on the Field at Waterloo.

"It is hardly possible to describe the calm manner in which the hero of that day gave his orders, and watched the movements and attacks of the enemy. In the midst of danger, bullets whistling close about him, round shot ploughing the ground he occupied, and men and horses falling on every side, he sat upon his favourite charger, Copenhagen, as collectedly as if he had been reviewing the household troops in Hyde Park. At one time the danger to which he was exposed increased so much, that General Alava, one of his oldest and best friends, suggested that it would be advisable to move a few yards out of the straggling fire of some French fusiliers. To this the chief at once assented, but in reining back his charger he never for a moment took his eye off the enemy's line."[1]

The self-command and coolness so distinctly shown during the battle of Waterloo—"the great pounding match," as he described it to General Beresford—was habitual to Wellington during the whole of his military career, and doubtless one great secret of his success in the field. The following illustrations of this all-important quality during the Peninsular War, are recorded by Mr. Larpent.

Wellington's Coolness.

"Lord Aylmer gave me two striking instances of Lord Wellington's coolness; one when in a fog in the morning, as he was pursuing the French, he found a division of our men,

head of a column of cavalry and charging like a common trooper, and as to the popular story of "Up, guards, and at them!"—Vol. iii. 180–1.

[1] Lord W. Lennox, p. 114. Captain Siborne says that when the shot fell fast about them ploughing the ground on which they stood, and their horses became restive and Copenhagen fidgety, the Duke, who had reasons for remaining, merely said, "Gentlemen, we are rather close together; better to divide a little." So said Skoboleff in one of the desperate assaults on Plevna.

under Sir William Erskine, much exposed in advance and nearly separated from the rest of the army, and the French in a village within a mile of where he was standing. He could see nothing. But on some prisoners being brought in, and being asked what French division and how many men were in the village, they, to the dismay of every one except Wellington, said that the whole French army were there. All he said was, quite coolly, 'Oh! they are all there, are they? Well, we must mind a little what we are about then.' Another time, soon after the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, and when we were waiting in our position near them to risk an attack to protect the siege of Almeyda, one morning, suddenly and early, Lord Aylmer came in to him whilst he was shaving, to tell him 'the French were all off, and the last cavalry mounting to be gone,' the consequence of which movement relieved him entirely, gave him Almeyda, and preserved Portugal. He only took the razor off for one moment, and said, 'Ay, I thought they meant to be off. Very well.' Then another shave just as before, and not another word till he was dressed." [1]

"When the pontoon bridge at Grenade (April 1814) was being prepared to enable the allies to march on Toulouse, the French were very jealous of any attempt of the kind and had cavalry vedettes all along their bank of the river. Among those who attempted to take the necessary observations was Lord Wellington, who went with two officers to the spot to reconnoitre with his own eyes. Concealing his general's hat with an oilskin, he got into conversation with the French vedette, dismounted, got down to the waterside, looked all about him, saw all he wished, and came away. I think this was risking too much; but no French soldier would have any idea of the commander of the allied forces going about thus with two attendants. Lord Wellington was yesterday over alone on foot, and went on upon a horse

[1] F. S. Larpent, Frenada, March 1813.

of General Cole's as horses could not pass. Even General P—— was a little uneasy, and sent about eight o'clock to know if he had come back safe. He returned about seven o'clock when it was dusk." [1]

The Duke on Gordon's Death at Waterloo.

"I came back from the battle," says Dr. Hume, "with Sir Alexander Gordon, whose leg I was obliged to amputate on the field late in the evening. This distinguished officer died rather unexpectedly in my arms, about half-past three in the morning of the 19th; and as I was anxious to inform the Duke as early as possible of the sad event, and was standing at the door hesitating whether to disturb him or not, Sir Charles Broke Vere came up to me and asked me whether the Duke was awake or not, as he wished (being Quarter-master-General) to take his orders relative to the movements of the troops. On that I decided to see if he was awake, and going upstairs to his room, I tapped gently at the door, when he told me to come in. He had as usual taken off his clothes, but had not washed himself. As I entered he sat up in his bed, his face covered with the dust and sweat of the previous day, and extended his hand to me, which I took and held in mine, whilst I told him of Gordon's death, and of such of the casualties as had come to my knowledge. He was much affected—I felt the tears dropping fast upon my hand, and, looking towards him, saw them chasing one another in furrows over his dusty cheeks. He brushed them away suddenly with his left hand, and said to me in a voice trembling with emotion, 'Well, thank God, I don't know what it is to lose a battle, but certainly nothing can be more painful than to gain one with the loss of so many of one's friends.'" [2]

[1] F. S. Larpent, iii. 121.

[1] Lord W. Lennox, quoting from a lecture delivered at Wells by Montague Gore, on the authority of Dr. Hume, 216–218.

The Duke and his Losses at Waterloo.

"One of the English papers quotes a beautiful expression of the Duke of Wellington 'that nothing was more tragical than a victory except a defeat.' How characteristic it is of the real hero! It is also a fact that this great man, on his return to Brussels immediately after the battle of Waterloo, went to the rooms of his niece Lady Fitzroy Somerset, and overpowered with the feelings of the moment, burst into a flood of tears. Her husband had lost his arm, and several of his own staff had been killed in the engagement." [1]

It was but a short time after the battle of Waterloo, that in reply to his friend Mr. Croker intimating his intention of writing a history of the great battles of the Peninsula and Flanders, the Duke wrote the following naïve description of a battle.

Description of a Battle.

"The history of a battle is not unlike the history of a ball. Some individuals may recollect all the little events of which the great result is the battle won or lost; but no individual can recollect the order in which, or the exact moment at which, they occurred, which makes all the difference as to their value and importance. Then the faults and misbehaviour of some gave occasion for the distinction of others, and perhaps was the cause of material losses; and you cannot write a true history of a battle without including the faults and misbehaviour—of part at least—of those engaged.

"Believe me, every man that you see in a military uniform is not a hero; and that, although in an account of a general action, such as that at Waterloo, many instances of individual heroism must be passed over unnoticed, it is better for the

[1] Raikes' 'Journal,' December 1, 1840, iv. 102–3.

general interest to leave those parts of the story untold than to tell the whole truth." [1]

During the whole of his military career Wellington was pestered with requests for appointments and promotions, and by the complaints of officers who assumed that he had not used his influence in supporting their claims to honours. From these—with which the despatches, public and private, are full—the following instances of various dates are selected, as a specimen of "how he treated grumblers."

How the Duke Treated Grumblers.

"To a person who complained of the late Mr. Mackenzie, commissioner for British claims on the French Government, the Duke replied: "From the specimen the Duke of Wellington has received of Mr. ——'s peculiar style of writing to persons filling responsible situations, he is not surprised that Mr. Mackenzie should have given direction that Mr. M——'s letter should be returned unopened to Mr. M——; an example which the Duke proposes to follow."

To a distinguished officer who complained of not getting his K.C.B. he wrote:—

"Vienna, February 5, 1815.

[*After stating the facts preventing it.*] "If you had known these facts, I hope that the same spirit of justice by which I have always been animated would have induced you to spare me the pain of reading the reproaches and charges of injustice contained in your letter, and that you would have defended me with the —— Regiment, and would have shown them that the regulation, and not I, deprived you of these marks of honour which they wished to see you obtain.

"As these facts are in the knowledge of everybody, it is

[1] The Duke to J. W. Croker.—'Wellington Despatches,' 1st series, vol. xii. 590.

scarcely possible to believe that you were not aware of them; and I attribute the harshness of your letter solely to the irritation which you naturally feel in considering your own case.

"However, the expression of this irritation, however unjust towards me and unpleasant to my feelings, has not made me forget the services which you and your brave corps rendered upon every occasion on which you were called upon, and although I am afraid that it is too late, I have recommended you in the strongest terms to the Secretary of State."

"To H.R.H. the Duke of ——

"Bruxelles, April 24, 1815.

"SIR,—I have the honour of receiving your Royal Highness's letter on the 8th instant regarding Colonel ——. I have already informed Colonel—— that it was not in my power to employ him upon the staff. The army is very small, and the staff very numerous, and I cannot find employment for those already belonging to it. I am sorry, therefore, that he should have given your Royal Highness the trouble of writing to me on a subject on which he knows, that if I could have gratified him, I would have done so without your Royal Highness's powerful influence."

To Dr. Renny respecting a Captain R——

"I can promise nothing, therefore, excepting that I will not forget your wishes any more than the obligations I owed you on my private account, as well as on that of the public, when I was in office in Ireland."[1]

With those officers who failed in their duty at Waterloo the Duke was disinclined to take harsh measures—"feeling very strong objections," as he wrote to the Duke of York (September 12, 1815), "to discuss before a general court-

[1] Lord W. Lennox.

martial the conduct of any individual in such a battle as that of Waterloo. In general it brings before the public circumstances which might as well not be published; and the effect is equally produced by obliging him who has behaved ill to withdraw from the public service."

With the crowning victory of Waterloo the active military career of Wellington was closed. It may be convenient, therefore, at this point of our collection of illustrations of his acts, his reasons, and his opinions, to group together his views on some of the moot points of war expressed by him in later years to some of his intimate friends.

National Characteristics of the Armies in the Peninsula.

"The national character of the three kingdoms was strongly marked in my army. I found the English regiments in the best humour when we were well supplied with beef; the Irish when we were in the wine countries; the Scotch when the dollars for pay came up. This looks like an epigram, but I assure you it was the fact, and quite perceptible; but we managed to reconcile all their tempers, and I will venture to say that in our late campaigns, and especially when we crossed the Pyrenees, there never was an army in the world in better spirits, better order, better discipline. We mended in discipline every campaign, until at last [smiling] I hope we were near perfect." [1]

The Duke on Cuirasses for Cavalry.

"At a dinner at the Admiralty, some discussion arose as to the value of cuirasses: whether the confidence they gave to the individual soldier counterbalanced their weight and other obvious disadvantages. The Duke thought it might in single men and small bodies, but in great masses the spirit and confidence of the men arose from other considerations,

[1] Conversations with Mr. Croker. Beaudesert, 1826, vol. i. 353.

and on the whole he did not like the cuirass. Some one asked whether the French cuirassiers did *not come up well at Waterloo.* 'Yes,' said the Duke, '*and they went down well, too.*' He then went on to tell us of a regiment of cuirassiers that had charged up the high road at Quatre Bras, and had turned into a farmyard or enclosure which had no exit on the other side. The Duke was not aware of this, else he could have taken them all. They immediately came out again, but on the retreat along the same road, the British who were in line along the cross road—particularly your regiment' [*turning to Lord Huntley*], said the Duke, 'gave them a couple of volleys, which brought them all to the ground, and there, those that were not killed were so encumbered by their cuirasses and jack-boots that they could not get up, but lay sprawling and kicking like so many turned turtles."[1]

English and French Cavalry.

"My practice in regard to cavalry was this: first, to use them upon advanced guards, flanks, &c., as the quickest movers, and to enable me to know and see as much as possible in the shortest space of time; secondly, to use them in the momentary pursuit of broken troops; thirdly, to use them in small bodies to attack small bodies of the enemy's cavalry; but I never attacked with them alone, always with infantry; and I considered our cavalry so inferior to that of the French, from want of order, although I consider one squadron a match for two French squadrons, I should not like to see four British squadrons opposed to four French squadrons; and as the numbers increased and order of course became more necessary, I was more unwilling to risk our cavalry without having a greater superiority of numbers. For this reason I used my cavalry even less than Buonaparte did his, for he gained some of his battles by the use of his cuirassiers as a

[1] Croker's 'Diary,' May 6, 1826.

sort of accelerated infantry, with which, supported by masses of cannon, he was in the habit of seizing important posts in the centre or flanks of his enemy's position, and of occupying such points till his infantry could arrive to relieve them. He tried this manœuvre at the battle of Waterloo, but failed, because we were not to be frightened away; and in fact attacked the cuirassiers who were in possession of the line of our cannon, with the squads of infantry; and when once we moved them I poured in our life-guards, &c. This shows the difference of his principles and mine; but it was to be attributed to his having his cavalry in order. Mine would gallop, but could not preserve their order, and, therefore, I could not use them till our admirable infantry had moved the French cavalry from their ground." [1]

Effect of Infantry Fire on Cavalry.

"We then got upon the expedition on the other side of the Peninsula; and he explained some of the reasons for his instructions there. He said the Spanish generals thought the reason why the French beat them was that they had no good cavalry; and that whenever they had our cavalry with them, they wanted to fight. This was what he was anxious to prevent, for he said our cavalry never gained a battle yet. When the infantry have beaten the French, then the cavalry, if they can act, make the whole complete, and do wonders, but they never yet beat the French themselves. Talking on this subject another day, Lord Wellington and all the officers present seemed to agree that a cavalry regiment did not know what real infantry fire was. They talk of a sharp carbine fire, which kills ten or twenty horses and half as many men; but they could not exist ten minutes in a fire to which our infantry battalions are at times exposed; they

[1] To Lord William Russell, July 31, 1836.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 353.

would be annihilated if they did not go threes-about very quick indeed. Even in the infantry, at times it was said in less than half an hour every mounted officer would be dismounted from his own or his horse's wounds, and perhaps not six men in a company out of sixty would remain." [1]

The Duke's Aversion to Reckless Acts of Bravery.

"Although Wellington fully appreciated and was always ready to reward heroic deeds, he was ever averse to acts of recklessness, by which the lives of brave men were placed in jeopardy. I remember upon one occasion, an enthusiastic guest at his table, vividly describing the daring conduct of a young French cavalry officer at Waterloo. 'He was about to charge a body of guards,' said the narrator, 'previous to their taking possession of Hougomont. Before, however, he could carry out the orders he had perceived his adversaries had gained their stronghold, and had loop-holed the walls. Disappointed at this unexpected movement, the dashing light dragoon, sword in hand, galloped forward to within a few feet of the building, challenging the occupants to come forth to single combat. Many a musket was levelled at him; but, to the honour of the British soldier be it stated, not a trigger was pulled. After many unsuccessful attempts to provoke a trial-at-arms, the gallant knight retired and joined his regiment, crestfallen at the failure of his enterprise.'

"'A rash act,' responded the Duke, 'he ought to have been broke for it.' And no doubt he would have been severely reprimanded by Napoleon, who, equally with the Duke, censured any foolish or useless enterprise. A variety of instances occur to us; the French General-in-Chief's bitter reproach to General Lannes, for having uselessly exposed himself, and sacrificed, without any object, a number of

[1] F. S. Larpent. Head-quarters, Lezaca, Aug. 23, 1813, vol. ii. 73-4.

brave men; his peremptory order to his aide-de-camp Croisier, to come down from the battery at St. Jean d'Acre, where he was needlessly provoking the enemy's shots, and his rebuke to Bourrienne, when the siege was raised, 'Let every man mind his own business. Wounded or killed, I would not have noticed you in the bulletin; you would have been laughed at, and justly.'"[1]

Numbers of Troops in the Duke's Great Battles.

"Talavera was the only one in which I had a superiority; but that was only by reckoning the Spaniards. At all the rest I had rather less. At Salamanca I had 41,000, and the French rather more: perhaps 45,000. At Vittoria I had many thousand less—60,000 against 70,000. At Waterloo the proportion was still more against me; I had less than 60,000, perhaps 56,000 or 58,000; Buonaparte had 80,000. The whole army in the south of France under my command was considerably larger than the force under Soult at the battle of Toulouse; but actually employed in the operation I had less than he. I look upon Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo, as my three best battles; those which had great and permanent consequences. Salamanca relieved the whole south of Spain at once—changed the character of the war there, and was felt even in Russia. Vittoria freed the Peninsula altogether, broke up the armistice at Dresden, and so led to Leipsic, and the deliverance of Europe; and Waterloo did more than any battle I know of, towards the true object of battles—the peace of the world."

"When asked, 'Did you ever talk with Marmont about Salamanca?'

"*The Duke*: 'It was a delicate subject to allude to. It was once brought on the *tapis*; but all I said to him was that I had perceived very early that he was wounded.'

[1] Lord W. Lennox, 236-7.

"Asked: 'Did he seem to take it as a compliment?'

"*The Duke*: 'Oh yes, and it was true enough. I did not say what was equally true—that he gave the opening. I did not intend to fight unless he should give me an advantage. He wished to cut me off. I saw that in attempting this he was spreading himself over more ground than he could defend, and I resolved at once to attack him, and succeeded so quickly, that one of the French officers told me "*Monsieur vous avez battu quarante milles hommes en quarante minutes.*" Marmont was a good officer, and notwithstanding all his ill luck, both a clever and a worthy man.'"[1]

The following summary of the effects of Wellington's campaigns by M. Maurel, conveniently concludes this portion of the military career.

Wellington's Victories in the Peninsula.

"In his seven Peninsular campaigns," writes Maurel, "he passed through all the diversity of trials that fortune could create. He made a war of positions and surprises, and triumphed. He then adopted the offensive on a larger scale, and still he triumphed. He made the boldest advances, with and without involving himself in any risks. He had made long and difficult retreats without suffering any disaster. He fought battles of the most different characters with a *superiority* of numbers—at Vimiero, August 21, 1808; at Oporto, May 12, 1809; at Vittoria, June 24, 1813; at Nivelle, November 10, 1813; at Toulouse, April 10, 1814, and *all were victories.* He fought—with *equal* numbers—at Salamanca, July 22, 1812; at Pamplona, July 28; at St. Martial, August 31, 1813; at Orthez, February 28, 1814, and *all were victories.* He fought, with *an inferiority* of numbers, at Talavera, July 28, 1809; at Busaco, September

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March 1853, 521. When Marmont came to England after the expulsion of Charles X., *i.e.* 1830.

27, 1810; and at Almeida (Fuentes d'Onoro), May 3 and 4, 1811, and *all were victories.* When I say that he had the superiority of numbers, it is only just to remark that—except at Vimiero—we are not speaking of English troops, but of the aggregate of Germans, Portuguese, and Spaniards, regular and irregular, which were from time to time under his orders. The English were *everywhere*, and necessarily inferior in number to the French. The truth is, that from 1808 to 1813, Wellington never had 30,000 English under his orders; that this was a period when the Imperial armies deluged the whole Peninsula with not less than 350,000 men. Struck by this enormous disproportion of forces, Wellington himself said to his friends, '*'Tis strange that with this little army we are able to keep them in check.*' In 1813 the English contingent reached 40,000, but this was the army reinforced for the invasion of France."[1]

[1] Maurel, 109, 110.

CHAPTER VIII.—1815–1818.

Occupation of Paris by the Allies—Louis Philippe—The Duke and Marshal Blucher—The Pont de Jena and the levy on Paris—Blucher's Proposal to shoot Napoleon as Outlawed by the Proclamation of the Allied Sovereigns—Duke and Fouché and the Surrender of Vincennes—The Coat-of-arms on the Duke's Carriage—The Duke and the French Marshals—Marshal Ney's Execution—Arbitrator on British Claims—A Grandee of Spain—Offer of an Estate in France—Order of the St. Esprit.

The Occupation of Paris by the Allies.

After the surrender of Paris and the second return of the Bourbons, the Duke, in the double capacity of Commander-in-chief of the Allied Forces which were to remain in the occupation of the capital, and of Ambassador to Louis XVIII., had many difficulties to contend with. On his march from Waterloo before the re-accession of Louis had been determined on by the Great Powers, he had to deal peremptorily with the friends of that wily intriguer Louis Philippe.

Louis Philippe's Attempt to be Declared King at the Fall of Napoleon.

"I recollect that in the course of the negotiations which I had with the representatives of the different parties of *faiseurs* at Paris on my march from the Netherlands to that city after the battle, it was proposed by some of them, that instead of restoring Louis XVIII. to his throne, we should propose that the Duc d'Orléans, Louis Philippe, should be called to the throne. I answered positively, 'No! that

such a proposition could not be considered. He would be an *usurpateur tout comme Napoléon, et le Roi de Rome? Usurpateur bien né peut-être, mais toujours usurpateur,*' and it is essential to the settlement of France and of Europe that the sovereign should not be such."[1]

The Duke and Marshal Blucher. The Pont de Jena and the Contribution from the City of Paris.

When in command of our army in Paris, before the sovereigns arrived, the Duke had to resist the demand of the ultra-Royalists for the destruction of the trophy to Napoleon's victories in the Place Vendôme, and the intemperate attempts of Blucher to destroy the Bridge of Jena and to levy a contribution of 100 millions of francs upon the city of Paris.

"The Prussians," writes Mr. Croker in his diary of his visit to that city, July 1818, "are very insolent and hardly less offensive to the English than to the French. The Duke says that they actually forgot that there was an English army in Paris. They had mined two piers of the Pont de Jéna next the Champ de Mars, and had endeavoured, as I saw from the marks of explosion, to blow it up; but they have been prevented." How it had been prevented we learn from the following letter from the Duke to Marshal Blucher, to whom he had written on the previous day suggesting that the work for the destruction of the bridge should be delayed until he could see the Marshal.

"The subjects on which Lord Castlereagh and I conversed with your Highness and General Comte Gneisenau this morning, viz. the destruction of the Bridge of Jena and the levy of the contribution of 100 millions of francs on the city of Paris, appear to be so important to the allies in general, that I cannot allow myself to omit to draw your Highness's attention to them again in this shape.

"The destruction of the Bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the king and the people, and may occasion disturbance

[1] The Duke to Croker, Sept. 20, 1850, vol. iii. 313. In Mr. Raikes' 'Journal,' vol. iv. 291, the expression is "*un usurpateur de bonne maison.*'

in the city. It is not merely a military measure, but is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance. It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the Government are willing to change the name of the bridge.

"Considering the bridge as a monument, I beg leave to observe that the immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to the Commissioners on the part of the French army during the negotiations of the Convention, viz. that the monuments, museums, &c., should be reserved for the decision of the allied sovereigns."

"All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended until the sovereigns shall arrive here, and then if it should be agreed by common consent that the bridge should be destroyed I shall have no objection.

"In regard to the contribution laid on the city of Paris, I am convinced that your Highness will acquit me of any desire to dispute the claim of the Prussian army to any advantage which can be derived from its bravery and exertions and services in the cause; but it appears to me that the allies will contend that one party to a general alliance ought not to derive all the benefit resulting from the operations of the armies. Even supposing that the allies should concede this point to the Prussian army, they will contend for the right of considering the question whether France ought or ought not to be called upon to make the pecuniary sacrifice, and for that of making concession to the Prussian army, if it should be expedient to do it.

"The levy and application of this contribution ought then to be a matter for the consideration and decision of all the allies; and in this point of view it is that I entreat your Highness to defer the measures for the levy of it, till the sovereigns shall have arrived.

"Since I have had the happiness of acting in common with your Highness and the brave army under your command, all matters have been carried on by common accord, and with a degree of harmony unparalleled in similar circumstances, much to the public advantage. What I now ask is, not the dereliction of your measures, but the delay of them for the day, or at the most two days, which must elapse before the sovereigns will arrive, which cannot be deemed unreasonable, and will, I hope, be granted on account of the motive of making the request."[1]

The effect of this plain speaking, but most judicious remonstrance, was, it is reported, strengthened by the Duke placing an English sentry on the bridge, with the remark, "Though they might not mind blowing up the bridge, they will not dare to blow up an English sentry."

This was by no means the first difficulty that the Duke had experienced with Blucher and the Prussians, who could not forget how Napoleon and his army had treated them when in possession of Berlin, and burnt to avenge the cruelties that they then suffered. Hence it was that whilst the French peasants stayed quietly in their towns and villages as the British army marched through them towards Paris, only too glad to furnish the supplies for which we paid, they fled precipitately on the advance of the Prussian soldiers.

One more striking instance of Blucher's character—his desire to shoot Napoleon if he caught him—must be given.

Wellington and Blucher and the Allied Proclamation against Napoleon.

"On March 13, 1815, the allies issued at Vienna a proclamation against Napoleon which contained the following emphatic words: 'By thus violating the convention which had established him on the Island of Elba, Buonaparte

[1] The Duke to Marshal Prince Blucher, Paris, July 9, 1815. Mr. Croker writes in his 'Diary,' July 13, that Blucher had demanded the contribution, and, as it was not paid, had shut up the 'Change and arrested all the bankers, who were released on the orders of the Czar.

destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself *of the protection of the law* (*hors la loi*) and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither truce nor peace with him. The Powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that as an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has rendered himself liable to *public vengeance* (*vindicte publique*).' "

For consenting to the insertion of these emphatic words, the Duke was accused in Parliament of denouncing Napoleon as an outlaw and handing him over to the dagger of the assassin. Blucher also interpreted them as justifying him in ordering Napoleon to be shot if taken prisoner by his troops.

In a letter to W. Wellesley Pole, from Brussels, May 5, the Duke expressed his indignation at this extraordinary and unprecedented mode of attacking a public servant absent on public service.

"If I have done anything wrong, or unbecoming my own character or that of the station which I filled, I ought to be prosecuted, or at least censured for it, in consequence of a specific motion on the subject; but it is not fair to give to the act of an individual a construction it will not fairly bear —a construction which no man breathing believes it was intended to bear; and to charge him home with being an assassin day after day in speeches, and never in form.

"I say, *first*, that the declaration has never been accurately translated; and the meaning of the words '*vindicte publique*' is not 'public vengeance,' but 'public justice.' But even if the meaning was 'public vengeance,' the declaration does not deliver Buonaparte over to the dagger of the assassin. When did the dagger of the assassin ever execute the vengeance of the public?

"In regard to his being '*hors la loi*;' *first*, it must be

recollected at what period and under what circumstances he was so declared. The period was March 13; and though we knew that Buonaparte had landed and had made progress in France sufficient to create a contest there, we were not aware that he could be established without firing a shot. The object then of this part of the proclamation was to strengthen the hands of the King of France by the opinion of the Congress.

"*Secondly*, was he not '*hors la loi*,' and had he not broken all the ties that connected him with the world? The only treaty by which he was connected with the world was that of Fontainebleau; that he broke. Having quitted his asylum, he landed in France with such a force as showed that he relied solely on treachery and rebellion, not only for success, but for safety. He incurred all risks to gain the greatest prize in Europe, one which he had abandoned only ten months before under a treaty with the allied Powers: and is it possible that it can be gravely asserted that Buonaparte, an individual like any other, should have been guilty by this act only of a breach of treaty? If he was guilty of more, of which there can be no doubt, it was the crime of rebellion and treason, with a view to usurp the sovereignty of France, a crime that has always been deemed '*hors la loi*' so far as this, that all sovereigns have in all times called upon their subjects to raise their arms to protect them from him who was guilty of it. The declaration does no more. This is my reasoning on the subject." [1]

With Blucher it was a more difficult matter to deal. We learn from General Muffling, the Prussian agent at the Duke's headquarters, that had Blucher succeeded in capturing Napoleon he would, without probably the form of even a drum-head court-martial, have executed him, and that he was anxious to get the Duke's sanction to this act.[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 1st series, Gurwood, p. 841.

[2] In his first instructions to Von Muffling, Blucher wrote: "Buonaparte has been declared under outlawry by the allied Powers. The Duke

The Duke on Blucher's Proposal to Shoot Napoleon.

"During the march on Paris, Field-Marshal Blucher had one time a prospect of getting Napoleon into his power; the delivering up of Napoleon was the invariable condition stipu-

---

of Wellington may possibly (from parliamentary consideration) hesitate to fulfil the declarations of the Powers. Your Excellency will therefore direct the negotiations to the effect that Buonaparte may be delivered over to us with a view to his execution. This is what eternal justice demands and what the declaration of March 13 decides; and thus the blood of our soldiers killed and mutilated on the 16th and 18th will be avenged. Compiègne, June 27, 1815.—Von Gneisenau."

In the next letter, dated Senlis, June 29, Von Gneisenau adds, "I am directed by the Field-Marshal to request your Excellency to communicate to the Duke of Wellington that it had been his intention to execute Buonaparte on the spot where the Duc d'Enghien was shot; that out of deference, however, to the Duke's wishes he will abstain from this measure, but that the Duke must take on himself the responsibility of its non-enforcement. It appears to me that the English will feel embarrassed by the delivery of Buonaparte to them; your Excellency will therefore only direct your negotiations so that he may be delivered up to us."

The following private letter from Gneisenau to Muffling shows how incapable the Prussians were of understanding the motives by which the Duke was actuated, and their bitterness at being baulked of their vengeance. "When the Duke of Wellington declares himself against the execution of Buonaparte, he thinks and acts in the matter as a Briton. Great Britain is under weightier obligation to no mortal man than to this very villain; for by the occurrences whereof he is the author, her greatness, prosperity, and wealth have attained their present elevation. The English are the masters of the seas, and have no longer to fear any rivalry either in this dominion or the commerce of the world. It is quite otherwise with us Prussians. We have been impoverished by him; our nobility will never be able to right itself again. Ought we not then to consider ourselves the tools of that Providence which has given us such a victory for the ends of eternal justice? Does not the death of the Duc d'Enghien call for such a vengeance? Shall we not draw upon ourselves the reproaches of the people of Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Portugal if we leave unperformed the duty that devolves upon us? But be it so! If others will assume a theatrical magnanimity, I shall not set myself against it. We act thus from esteem for the Duke and—weakness."—Appendix to Von Muffling's 'Passages from my Life,' pp. 273–5.

lated by him in every conference with the French Commissioners sent to treat for peace or an armistice. I received from him instructions to inform the Duke of Wellington that as the Congress of Vienna had declared Napoleon outlawed, it was his intention to have him shot whenever he caught him. But he desired at the same time, to know what were the Duke's views on this subject, for should he entertain the same as himself, he wished to act in concert with him.

"The Duke stared at me in astonishment, and in the first place disputed the correctness of this interpretation of the Viennese declaration of outlawry which was never meant to incite to the assassination of Napoleon. He therefore did not think that they could acquire from this act any right to order Napoleon to be shot, should they succeed in making him a prisoner of war. But be this as it may, as far as his own position and that of the Field-Marshal with respect to Napoleon were concerned, it appeared to him that, since the battle they had won, they were become much too conspicuous personages to justify such a transaction in the eyes of Europe."

"I had already felt the force of the Duke's arguments before I most reluctantly undertook my mission, and was therefore little disposed to dispute them. 'I therefore,' continued the Duke, 'wish my friend and colleague to see this matter in the light I do; such an act would hand down our names to history stained by a crime, and posterity would say of us, that we did not deserve to be the conquerors of Napoleon; the more so as such a deed is now quite useless, and can have no object.'

"I made use of these expressions only as far as was necessary to dissuade the Field-Marshal from his idea." [1]

A minor difficulty with which the Duke had to contend

[1] Von Muffling, 'Passages from my Life. The Campaigns of 1814–15,' pp. 252–3.

arose out of the hesitation, amounting almost to a refusal, on the part of the military-governor of the fortress of Vincennes to obey that clause in the Convention of Paris which comprised the surrender of all fortified places on North side of the Loire to the allies. With this hesitation it is evident that the crafty Fouché connived, hoping that something might turn out to the advantage of his always crooked policy if the white flag could be kept flying on that fortress. The peremptoriness of the Duke, and the certainty that he would carry out the threat he made of taking it by force if not peaceably surrendered, is graphically related by Mr. Croker.

Duke and Fouché—Capture of Buonaparte, Surrender of Vincennes.

"I was in Paris in July 1815 while Buonaparte was still lingering at Rochefort, and there was great anxiety on the part of the French Government to get rid of him. We were anxious to take him prisoner. The French Ministers, Talleyrand, Fouché, &c., were desirous that he should escape to America. There was held on the evening of the 12th of July a kind of double Cabinet Council as to what was to be done. As I was Secretary of the Admiralty, and knew the state and strength of our naval blockade, I was invited by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke to accompany them to this meeting, where we found Talleyrand and Fouché and M. de Jaucourt, then Minister of Marine. Measures were concerted for capturing him. I held the pen; Talleyrand took little or no part. Fouché was evidently anxious that Buonaparte should escape, and made all sorts of objections, and particularly as to some strong expressions I used and some strong measures which I suggested. Jaucourt was fair and straightforward.[1] When that affair had been discussed, the Duke

[1] As Secretary to the Admiralty, Mr. Croker then drew the despatch of July 13 to Rear-Admiral Hotham, the senior admiral in the Basque Roads, instructing him to seize the person of Napoleon. 'Diary,' vol. ii. 238.

turned sharp round on Fouché about Vincennes, the governor of which had hoisted the white flag, but would not surrender the fortress. The Duke, it seems, had twice before urged Fouché to put an end to this disagreeable farce; once, I think, that very morning (our present conference was at night), and Fouché had promised that the fort should be surrendered that day; he now put on a penitential air and said that the governor was *entêté et opiniâtre*, and would not obey orders, and shrugging his shoulders, '*Que voulez-vous que je fasse?*' The Duke reddened at this question and stood up and said sharply, '*Ce n'est pas à moi, M. le Duc, de vous dire ce que vous avez à faire. Mais je vous dirai ce que je ferai, moi! Si la place n'est pas rendue à dix heures demain matin, je la prendrai de vive force. Entendez-vous?*' Fouché hummed and hawed and hoped he would not be so precipitate, and that a day or two might arrange it *à l'aimable*. The Duke said no, he had been put off in this same way for (I think he said) two days; much longer than he ought to have waited. '*A présent vous avez mon dernier mot, et vous devez savoir que ce que je vous dis je le ferai. Si la place n'est pas rendue à dix heures du matin, elle sera prise à midi.*' He then turned to me, who was sitting at a writing-table, and said, 'Croker, you never saw a fight; be with me at nine o'clock to-morrow morning; I shall give you some breakfast and mount you on a good horse, and take you to see the show,' adding gravely, 'a show which I shall be very sorry to exhibit, but which such an outrage on good faith and honour forces upon me. The affair,' he said, turning to the French Ministers, 'is still more insulting to the King of France and his Government than to us, but if you can't arrange it, I must.' When he said this, he wished us good night and left us. The French Ministers said a few words to Castlereagh asking his interposition; he said it was a military point of which the Duke was the sole judge, and that he 'will assuredly do what he has told you.' I went to the Duke early next morning, and found that he had really

taken measures for storming the place, but the fort was given up."[1]

Yet another difficulty arose from the childish irritation of the *demisoldes* of Paris at a portion of the bearings on the coat-of-arms on the Duke's ambassadorial carriage.

The Duke in Paris as Ambassador.

"When I was in Paris after Waterloo, the French had a mind to pick a quarrel with me, right or wrong. Lord Wellesley had obtained an augmentation to his coat-of-arms, a lion or leopard bearing a tricolour flag. So the *demisoldes* sent round a report that I had on my ambassadorial state-coach an insulting representation of a lion trampling on a French national colour. This was repeated to me, and so seriously, that I exhibited my coach panels to any one who chose to see them, to show that there was no pretence for the lie. But unluckily in the Duchess's arms, which were placed by the side of mine on the coach, there happened to be an *eagle*, and this then became a topic of so ridiculous though malicious a misrepresentation, that my coach was in danger of being torn to pieces. It was not worth while to make a serious matter about it, and I accordingly had the Duchess's arms omitted from the coach, and the affair soon was forgotten."[2]

On the return of the King, the French marshals, now eager to win place and honours from the Bourbon monarch, and willingly forgetful of the numerous defeats which Wellington had inflicted on them, assumed to treat him with contempt even in the presence of the King, but far more to the regret of Louis than to the Duke's annoyance. Of this incident the writer of the elaborate description of the treasures

[1] Note by Croker made subsequently to the event, but believed by him to be tolerably accurate after talking over it with the Duke. Croker, vol. ii. 236–7.

[2] Conversations with Croker, May 1831, vol. ii. 117–18.

in Apsley House gives the following amusing account, and of the Duke's *repartée.*

The Duke and the French Marshals.

"While the Louvre was being stripped of pictures and other works of art taken by Napoleon from other kingdoms under the joint order of Schwartzenburg, Wellington, and Blucher, Sept. 10, 1815, the Duke fell into great disfavour in Paris, and was coldly received by some of the French marshals on one occasion, as he passed through the Salle in the Tuileries, on a visit to Louis XVIII. When the King subsequently expressed his surprise and vexation at hearing that they had turned their backs on him: 'It is of no consequence, sir,' was the reply, '*c'est leur habitude.*'" [1]

The French could not understand the position of the Duke as contrasted with the ambitious schemes of the marshals of Buonaparte. That he did not carve out for himself a kingdom from his conquests in Spain and Portugal, and was content with the honours of a citizen of his own country, was a mystery to them. Yet in the Duke's opinion the principle worked well. When in 1852 in one of his conversations with the Duke at Folkestone on Napoleon's character as a general, Croker remarked, "Yes, it is easy to be best where one is master of them all, sovereign dispenser of reward and punishment, and having no control to thwart, no scruple to stop, and no responsibility but himself," the Duke thus contrasted his position with that of the French marshals.

"*The Duke*: 'Yes, that is very true; but still I do not think any one of them could, even in his circumstances, have done what he did. Much of my ultimate success in Spain was owing to my singular position. I was (here he paused for a word) *conquérant sans ambition.* I had for a time a sovereign power there, but no one suspected me of any design to become King of Spain or Portugal, like Joseph, or Soult, or Junot. I was almost King of Spain, but I handled

[1] Apsley House, *Quarterly Review*, March 1853, note, p. 458.

my power with the greatest moderation and abstinence, and avoided every unnecessary exhibition of it. All the world knew that I desired nothing but to beat the French out of Spain, and then go home to my own country, leaving them to manage theirs as they pleased. So I avoided offence and jealousy, and was obeyed as willingly as the nature of the people would admit of.' "[1]

The fate of Marshal Ney brought on the Duke much unmerited censure. He was openly accused of having deliberately abstained from interposing with the French King in his behalf, when sentenced to death by the court-martial, from a miserable feeling of jealousy at Ney's great military successes. The treason of Ney was as open as it was impudent. After the first abdication of Napoleon, he had voluntarily entered the service of King Louis, and on the landing of Napoleon in France had set out as the King's general to oppose his old master's march on Paris, with a boast that he would bring him back in chains. No sooner did he meet Napoleon than he hastened back to his standard, took over to him the troops he had led for his capture, and during the hundred days became again the bravest and boldest of his soldiers. After the defeat at Waterloo and the flight of Napoleon, he was captured and tried for this open act of treason and executed. Ney appealed to the 12th article of the Convention of Paris of July 3.[2] The

[1] Croker, Folkestone, Sept. 2, 1852, vol. iii. 277–8.

[2] Article 12. "Seront pareillement respectées les personnes, et les propriétés particulières; les habitants, et en général tous les individus qui se trouvent dans la capitale continueront à jouir leurs droits et libertés sans pouvoir être inquiétés, ni recherchés en rien relativement aux fonctions qu'ils occupent, ou aursient occupées, ou à leurs conduites et a leurs opinions politiques." In his reply to a letter from the Prince de la Moskowa of Nov. 13, 1815, the Duke refers to Article 10 that the existing authorities shall not be interfered with by the two commanders-in-chief of the allies; and Article 11 that public property shall be respected by them; and to Article 12 (see above) adds, "By whom were these private properties and persons to be respected? By the allied generals and their troops mentioned in Articles 10 and 11, and not by other parties to whom the Convention did not relate in any way."—Memorandum respecting Marshal Ney, Paris, Nov. 19, 1815; 'Wellington Despatches,' 1st series.

Duke's explanation was clear, as given by him to Lord W. Lennox. Even had he openly interposed, it is probable (as he told Mr. Raikes) that the jealousy of the Bourbons at our interference would have made it futile.

The Duke and Marshal Ney.

"Ney appealed to the 12th article of the Capitulation of July 3, to which the Duke replied that 'it related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris. Its object, to prevent any measures of severity under the military authority of those who made it towards any person in Paris, on account of any offices they had filled, or any conduct or political opinions of theirs; but it was never intended, and never could be intended, to prevent either the existing French Government, under whose authority the Commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French Government which might succeed, acting in this respect as might deem fit.'

"Ney's advocate raised the point that by the treaty of Nov. 20, tracing the new frontier of France, Sarrebruck (Ney's birthplace) was not in France. 'Yes,' said Ney, 'I am a Frenchman and will die a Frenchman. I am accused against the faith of a treaty, and they will not allow me to justify myself.[1] I will act like Moreau—I appeal to Europe and posterity.'

"When asked on another occasion why he did not interfere on Ney's behalf, the Duke said, 'The trial of Marshal Ney was an affair both civil and political, which in no way came within my cognisance as a military man, though I commanded all the allied troops in Paris. Besides, even at that early period, the Bourbons, though so newly established in France through our means, began to be jealous of our interference in their affairs, and we (the foreigners) began to be cautious of intruding our opinions when not absolutely

[1] Lord W. Lennox.

called for. The execution of that sentence was the unbiassed act of the Bourbons.' "[1]

Among his many duties at this time, the Duke consented to act as the sole arbitrator of the numerous conflicting claims for compensation made by foreigners for the losses sustained by them from the measures of the Revolutionists.

Claims of British Subjects on the Indemnity.

"With reference to Baron de Bode's claim on the indemnity fund for the losses of British subjects at the close of the war, the Duke said that 'he had originally been acquainted with this and hundreds of similar cases by an accident which he thought had never before happened to any man, and probably never would again—he had been accredited arbitrator of all the Powers of Europe.'

"When the question of restitution or indemnity for the private losses of individual foreigners from the lawless measures of the Revolution, was advanced at the treaty of Paris, it produced great excitement and even stock-jobbing; claims were brought up and trafficked in to an alarming extent, and there were suitors of all nations, and all amounts—some for loss of sovereignties, and some for statues and pictures. The case grew so considerable that the Duke of

[1] "Since the above was in type," writes the Editor of General Sir C. T. Napier's autobiography, "it has been stated, on the authority of the late Duke of Wellington, that his father did his utmost *privately* to save the life of Marshal Ney, and, that it was wholly in consequence of the absolute refusal of the King of France's Ministers to advise him to grant the Duke's request, that as a matter of duty, he abstained from publicly asking Louis XVIII. this favour. 'Passages from my Life,' pp. 95–6.

It is an open secret that the Duke went to the King for this purpose, but was so insulted by those about him that he said to the King, "They have forgotten that I commanded the armies which placed you on the throne," and then left, saying that he would never again enter the Royal presence. Raikes, Walmer, 1843, p. 351.

Richelieu proposed to me to be sole arbitrator of *all* these claims: the other Powers joined in the request, and I think in four or five months of hard judicial application, I settled the whole amount to the general satisfaction."[1]

The honours accorded to Wellington were not limited to those conferred by his own countrymen. These were such as no man had ever won in so short a period. In addition to the steps in the peerage he had won by his successive victories, liberal grants of money had been made to him.

After the battle of Toulouse, in addition to former grants, £400,000 were voted to him by Parliament, and £200,000 more after Waterloo. From the continental Powers he received crosses of the highest military orders, and the Batons of Field-Marshals in their armies. The Cortes of Spain had made him a grandee of Spain, which Ferdinand on his restoration confirmed; the right thus conferred to wear his hat in the royal presence somewhat puzzled the Duke.

The Grandees of Spain.

"I am a grandee of Spain. They have the privilege of being covered in the King's presence. Formerly there was but one class; there are now three, which differ from each other by some such forms as these—all referring, as you will see, to the covering of the head. The first class enter the royal presence already covered; the second, I think, enter uncovered, but cover unbidden, after they have advanced a few steps; the third do not cover till the King desires them; but when covered, I believe, are all equal, though not hereditary. It is strange for a grandee of Spain not to know all these distinctions, but I was some years a grandee without knowing even so much.

"When Ferdinand returned to Madrid (1814), he, on one occasion, showed himself to the people from the balcony of

[1] Croker's note of his last conversations with the Duke at Folkestone, Thursday, Sept. 2, 1852, vol. iii. 273.

the palace; his suite, and among them myself, stood in the room behind; the people, I believe, called for me, and the King desired me to come forward, which I did, bareheaded, of course I should immediately have done so anywhere else. The King immediately said to me, 'Be covered,' but in the face of the people I could not at once bring myself to do it; but the people about us hastened to remind me that I was a grandee of the first class, and that I ought to have been covered. My grandeeship, title, and estate, were given me by the Cortes, but the King confirmed them in the most liberal way. At his first court on his return, when the grandees—some of them newly created, others having succeeded during the usurpation—were to be solemnly admitted to the royal presence, we all assembled in an ante-room. When the door of the presence-chamber was opened, they allowed me, in consideration, I suppose, of my military situation, to go in first; and the Duke of Alajen, as captain of the guards, next, after which they all rushed in *pêle-mêle* in a riotous confusion, and in the scuffle San Carlos, who was one of the juniors in date of grandeeship, turned up one of the foremost; some one endeavoured to moderate the tumult, and begged them to place themselves in order; but they cried out '*that there was no order there*, they were all equal.' This confusion is a part of the dignity, for they do not recognise the date of the grandeeship, even in the highest class which is hereditary.

"Ferdinand is by no means the idiot he is represented. He is a good-natured man, and not deficient in sense. It is his political position, and the state of the Spanish Government and the people themselves which are to blame for what those intelligent gentlemen, the correspondents of English newspapers, all lay to the account of the poor King."[1]

[1] Conversation with Croker in 1826, vol. i. 333–4. "June 27, 1813.—I understand the Duke of Wellington came back from Madrid with a much better impression of King Ferdinand than when he went, thinking that he

The Duke offered an Estate in France.

"I will tell you an odd story of the old King (Louis XVIII.). One day, after the restoration, when I waited on him at the Tuileries, he paid me some compliments on my share in the events which brought it about, and he took the ribbon of St. Esprit off his own body and put it on me. I of course expressed my thanks, but I said that before I could venture to accept and wear this mark of royal favour, I must have the consent of my sovereign, and added that I should write that evening, and had little doubt that the Prince Regent would signify his approbation. Shortly after I returned home, the Duc of Richelieu, then Prime Minister, followed me, and after alluding to the affair of the St. Esprit, said that, as I was going to write about that, the King wished me to take the same opportunity of writing about another matter upon which he supposed I should also require my sovereign's consent; this was His Majesty's intention to present me with a more solid and lasting mark of his gratitude, in an *estate in France.* Grosbois was the place intended, and the Duke stated some of the *agrémens* which that seat particularly possessed, and some circumstances which made the King think it a proper reward for my services in France. This took me quite by surprise, and was for the moment rather embarrassing, for I could not decently refuse point-blank from Louis XVIII. what I had accepted from King Ferdinand; but a little consideration sufficed to convince all parties that the cases were essentially different, and, above

showed talent, firmness, and character. The manner in which he received the Duke may have somewhat disposed him to this favourable judgment. I understand the King immediately treated the Duke as a grandee of Spain by shaking hands with him and putting his hat on, and that the King declared almost the only acts of the Cortez which he approved of *in toto* were those which made the Duke commander of all the Spanish armies and gave him the estate in the south."—F. S. Larpent, vol. iii. 261.

all, in the spirit and temper of the two nations and the circumstances of the two cases. In Spain I had been the victorious general of their own armies. In France my merit with the King was that I had beaten their army. It would have been impossible to have made a falser step, and so there was an end of Grosbois. When I look back at this offer, I am still more surprised than I was at first, that it should have been thought of." [1]

The most singular decoration, however, was that of the St. Esprit, a strictly Roman Catholic order conferred on him by Louis XVIII.

The Order of the St. Esprit of France.

"After re-telling the anecdote of Louis XVIII.'s offer of the estate of Grosbois, which he said dropped for fear of the marshals, who would have been furious at it, he said, 'Some time after the King sent him a cross of the St. Esprit, in very fine diamonds, which he afterwards heard indirectly was meant as a compensation for Grosbois.'

"I asked him how the difference of religion was got over in giving him the St. Esprit. He said he did not know of any difficulty, but if there had been any, Monsieur, the strictest of the family on such points, was very good-humoured about it, and would no doubt have arranged it.

"But any religious question could only have arisen on the ceremony of *reception*. The Prince Regent, the Dukes of York and Clarence had all had it from the King before he left England. But none of us were ever *reçus*. The princes who had been *reçus* before the Revolution, we strangers and the surviving staff of the order figured on the almanack; but it was not until four or five years after that the King ventured to re-establish the order (which had been

[1] Conversations at Sadbourne, 1826.—Croker, vol. i. 332-3.

abolished early in the Revolution, 1871) by a creation of French Cordons Bleu of the old fashion." [1]

For the greater portion of the next three years the Duke remained in France as Commander of the Allied army of Occupation, leaving it only temporarily for the purpose of assisting at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in October 1818, and finally, on November 14, in that year, on the evacuation of that country by the allies. With this event the active military career of the Duke, abroad, was concluded. The remainder of his life was passed in home politics, and his duties as Master-General of Ordnance, and at broken periods as Commander-in-Chief of our army.

[1] Croker, Folkestone, Sept. 2.

CHAPTER IX.—1818–1827.

Master-General of the Ordnance—On the Solicitation of Friends for the Promotion of Officers—Small Salaries and Heavy Responsibilities—Ambassador to the Coronation of the Czar Nicholas—His Refusal to hold the Governorship of Plymouth with Constableship of the Tower—Commander-in-Chief—The Duke of York's Debts and Funeral—The Duke of Clarence's proposed Memorial Dinner.

Master-General of the Ordnance and First Appointment as Commander-in-Chief.

On his return from France after the evacuation by the allies in November 1818, the Duke was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in the Ministry of Lord Liverpool, a post which he held until his rupture with Mr. Canning in 1827. Whilst in this position, the Duke was constantly pressed by officers and their friends for promotion in the service, and for his all-powerful recommendation for honours. In one case, something like an attempt to bribe him was made. The following selections from the 'Despatches' show how he dealt with some of these cases.

Difficulty of selecting Officers for Promotion.

"*To Lord* ——.

"London, May 14, 1819.

"My Lord,—I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter, and I should be very happy if I could recommend Major Drake for promotion by brevet without injustice to the claims of others.

"Major Drake is certainly a very meritorious officer, but

there are many others whose claims are at least as strong as his who have not yet been promoted. I cannot recommend one officer without recommending others; and I am sure your Lordship will see, that after a war of such extent and duration as the last was, and during which so many officers distinguished themselves, it is impossible at once to promote all who have claims.

"They must be selected by degrees; and I must say that the task of making the selection, and of preferring some of these brave men to others, becomes much more irksome by the obligation imposed upon him whose duty it is to make it, of discussing with their friends their several merits.[1]

"I have, &c. &c.

"WELLINGTON."

On Friends soliciting Promotion for Officers.

"*To Major-General Malcolm.*

"Strathfieldsaye, Sept. 17, 1823.

"MY DEAR MALCOLM,—Lieut.-Colonel —— is an officer who has served, and of whose services I have endeavoured to show my sense by recommending him for promotion by brevet. He says that the promotion was conferred on his own solicitation. I should think it was not, as I entertain a very particular objection to those officers who *solicit* favours, or require others to *solicit* for them. However, whether *solicited* or not, I recommended that he should be promoted, first to be a major by brevet, next to be a lieut.-colonel by brevet, he being still only a captain in the Artillery. He is now looking out for fresh *solicitors* to be made a captain of the Horse Artillery; that is to say, neither more nor less than to have conferred on him every favour which the Master-General can confer upon any officer. This office of captain of the Horse Artillery is *solicited* by every captain in the Artillery Regiment, because the holder of it is not

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' vol. i. 623.

called upon to serve in the colonies. There is no other reason whatever. I, who have served everywhere, cannot hear of such a reason. At all events Lieut.-Colonel —— must know that I am not to be *solicited* out of doing justice to all parties. I knew that he wished to be removed to the Horse Artillery, and he, of all others in the corps, might have known that there was no use in employing friends to make solicitations in his favour."

Again, on the 21st of Sept. the Duke writes to General Malcolm—

"Nothing could give me more pain than that you should imagine that I have any feeling respecting your application to me in favour of anybody. What I object to is, that officers who have served, and who know that I have noticed them, should go and expose themselves for sale, and come to me upon electioneering and other jobs, and claim troops of Horse Artillery, &c. This practice really degrades them and me, and I take every opportunity of letting them know that I don't approve of it.

"When I was in India, and with the army, nobody ever thought of applying for anything, knowing that I would do justice to all as fast as I could. But these confounded corps of Artillery and Engineers are so accustomed to look to private patronage and applications, that I am teazed out of my life by them; and there is not a woman, or a member of Parliament, or even an acquaintance, who does not come with an application in favour of some one or other of them. But although those who apply must receive the answers, they are not intended for them, but for the officers who thus debase themselves, and I indeed hoped I had manifested to you the intention of my answer *in the private note I sent with it.*" [1]

To a general officer who assumed that the Duke had not

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. ii. 484–501.

recommended him for a G.C.B. on the ground of his being dissatisfied with his conduct.

"London, Dec. 23, 1823.

"You cannot suppose me unjust; and, conscious as you are that during the period of your command in France, you never gave me reason to be otherwise than satisfied with you, you must believe that I was satisfied. But I will go further and will ask you this question, did you ever know me dissatisfied with anybody that I did not openly and at once state my dissatisfaction? If I had been dissatisfied with anything, I should have stated the grounds of my dissatisfaction to you, as I had hundreds of times to others; and I dare say we should upon explanation have been as good friends as ever, as I have been with others. But I declare that I can recollect nothing that ever passed with which I had not every reason to be satisfied.

"But you say, 'if you were satisfied, why have other junior officers without my pretensions been preferred to me?' and you particularly name Lord Howard of Effingham. In answer, I can solemnly assure you that not only I had nothing to say to the appointment of Lord Howard of Effingham to the Grand Cross of the Bath, but that I never have had anything to say to the appointment of any officer of the Army to that honour, or to any other, excepting those officers whom I recommended by desire for the Third Class of the Bath for the Battle of Waterloo.

"All that I have ever done has been to bring forward to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief the services of the several officers, and I have not failed to do so by yours. He rewards those services as he thinks proper, and most positively no trace can be found of my having ever asked him to confer a particular favour on any general officer. After that statement, it is useless that I should say anything further, and I will here drop the subject." [1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. ii. 183.

An Improper Present.

To ——

"Ordnance Office, Feb. 23, 1824.

SIR,—Your letter of the 17th reached me this morning, and I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to inform you that I cannot possibly accept the present which you have thought proper to offer to me. I am unwilling to express to you the disagreeable feeling which your letter has excited, as I am convinced that an officer who has served with so much credit as you have obtained, could not be actuated by an improper motive. A little consideration, however, would, I am sure, show you the impropriety of offering a present to an officer to whom you are a total stranger, and with whom, from being in the same department, you would probably be hereafter in the habit of communicating.[1]

"I have, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

To an Officer addicted to Gambling.

"London, March 21, 1822.

"Shortly after the misfortune occurred in your family, I was very anxious to discover the means of preventing the necessity of your going to India, and I had some correspondence with your brothers on the subject. The result was the idea that you might join Sir T. Maitland's (Governor of the Grecian Islands) headquarters, to be there employed as he might think best, and be put on the staff in the Mediterranean if there should be a vacancy, or in short take your chance nearer home than you would be in the East Indies.

"I adopted this idea for several reasons, which I will now detail to you. There is no war, or even a chance of war at the present moment; and although your going out in

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. ii. 220.

command of a regiment of Dragoons is of itself a respectable and lucrative situation, and with your rank and pretensions, it is more than probable that you would be employed in some of the commands, still the advantages were not likely to be such as in a few years to enable you to pay your debts. I considered then the disinclination which your father and family would naturally feel to part from you for such a distance and such a length of time at this particular period, and the expense to be incurred in procuring your exchange and in your equipment, passage, &c.; and putting these against the advantages such as I have above stated, it appeared to me upon the whole to be best and most advantageous to you to take this chance in the Mediterranean at present, and to look to go to India hereafter, when you will be a Major-General, and can look to be placed on the staff, and to have those advantages which will to a certainty enable you in a few years to return with means to pay your debts.

"I have accordingly suspended the exchange into the 16th Light Dragoons, and it will remain suspended till the answer will come from yourself stating your own decision upon this subject. I cannot conclude this letter without urgently entreating you to recollect what it is that has obliged you to separate yourself from your family and friends, and to quit the most advantageous and agreeable position that can fall to the lot of any man in England. I am afraid that you can go to no part of the world, whether near or distant, in which you will not find means and opportunities of getting into similar scrapes: and you may rely upon it that their only result will be to occasion fresh and increased regret to yourself, and sorrow to your family and friends, and to none more than to him who subscribes himself,

"Yours most sincerely and affectionately,

"WELLINGTON." [1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. i. 220.

Small Salaries and Heavy Responsibilities.—1823–1826.

The system that had prevailed during the war of appointing the officers of the Commissariat on the recommendation of Members of Parliament, picked up without any regard to their qualification and totally ignorant of their duties, and the delays of the Treasury auditors to inquire into the accounts of the chiefs of this department, met with the Duke's severe censure.

In the case of Sir Charles Dalrymple, whom, after a delay of fourteen years, the Treasury claimed to surcharge, for some errors in the accounts which he had sent in, the Duke expressed himself in the plainest language.

"If," wrote the Duke, "the system of the Commissariat were different from what it is; if the officers of the Commissariat were liable to render an early account, and to be submitted to an early audit; or if, on the other hand, they appointed the persons who act under them, for whom they are thus held responsible, I would show no mercy to them. But when I know that a man in Sir Charles Dalrymple's situation, having millions passing through his hands, and with a severe responsibility resting upon him for the supply and issue of daily food and necessaries to an army, was assisted by persons totally ignorant of their duties and picked up as the Treasury could obtain them at the recommendation of Members of Parliament; when I know, besides, that our system of accounts is so erroneous, that no account at all is rendered for years; and then that no audit takes place for years afterwards, and that, in fact, the settlement of the account is a very high percentage upon the original expended, and that all the persons capable of giving an explanation of the surcharge, or who may have received an overpayment, are either dead or gone to a distance, I cannot but think that an accountant in Sir Charles Dalrymple's situation is hardly dealt with who is called upon to make repayments under the circumstances under which it appears that he labours.

"No man can accuse me of ever endeavouring to screen a person who is in the wrong either from wilful neglect or corruption or even idleness. But in this case the fault is in the system; and I am certain that if the Lords of the Treasury had seen it work as I have, and witnessed all the difficulties with which men like Sir Charles Dalrymple had to contend, they would not be indisposed to withhold their indulgence from him.

"Believe me, &c.,

"WELLINGTON."[1]

"P.S.—I beg you first to observe that between thirteen and fourteen years have elapsed since this expenditure was made, of which nine are of peace. I beg you likewise to observe that Sir Charles Dalrymple has been kept upon half-pay, employed upon Commissariat accounts for five years; that he has nothing but his half-pay, very much to his credit, although millions have passed through his hands, and that this surcharge will totally ruin him.

"To S. R. Lushington, Esq., Secretary of the Treasury, July 23, 1823."

Again, in 1826 he brought before the military authorities the following sad case of the widow of a paymaster, who had been driven mad by the heavy responsibilities thrown upon him by his ill-paid office.

"I enclose a petition from Mrs. ——, the widow of the late Paymaster ——, which I entreat you to consider. I shall be very much obliged to you if you will let me know if you had in your late office any reason to complain of Mr. ——, and if there is in the office any mode of providing for the widow, such as a pension to herself or increase of salary to Mr. —— paid in arrear, in consideration of the vastness of the charge imposed upon him, and the manner in which he discharged his duties.

"I do think there is nothing so unfair as the practice which is so common of loading a man of this description with a

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. ii. 104–5.

responsibility for millions, and then leaving him and his family to starve, after he has passed half his life in the service, and making up his accounts, and, as in this case, shall have been driven mad by his labours and the weight of the responsibility thrown on him.[1]

"To Lord Farnborough, Oct. 28, 1826."

Ambassador to the Coronation of the Emperor Nicholas.

In 1826 the Duke accepted the appointment of ambassador to congratulate the Emperor Nicholas on his accession to the throne of Russia—no mere congratulatory embassy, but one of great political importance. The strained relations between Russia and Turkey, in consequence of the Revolution in Greece, and the struggle of that nation for freedom from the Turkish yoke, made it of the utmost importance that the mission should be confided not only to a peer of high rank, but to one in whom the Czar and his ministers could place confidence from his previous services in the cause of Europe. In the Duke's appointment the King felt the deepest interest. What were his personal feelings towards the Duke may be judged from the following extract at the end of the letter which the King addressed to him, as he always did, as "My dear friend," and the Duke's reply.

"Advice I do not pretend to offer, but as to my wishes, they are to be summed up in very few words indeed; and not to repeat all I do so sincerely feel personally towards you, I must say, that your absence for any length of time, or rather *the want of your presence*, would be *quite intolerable to me*, besides the risk which your health would run, perhaps even your life, which is too *frightful* a *consideration*, either for the private man that *loves you* or the public man that cares for his country, or for the interests of all Europe, to entertain or tolerate for a single instant.

"Believe me, my dear Duke,

"Ever your most affectionate friend,

"G. R."[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 441.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 53–54. The italics in the King's letters are his own.

The Duke's reply was equally characteristic of the man and of his one great principle of action—duty to his King and his country.

"I am at all times ready and willng to serve your Majesty in any station in which it may appear to your Majesty and your servants that I can be at all useful to your service.

"My health is at present in so good a state as that I can, without the risk of danger or inconvenience, undertake the mission upon which Mr. Canning has proposed to your Majesty that I should be employed; and I am ready to set out whenever it may be necessary."

Of these personal feelings of the King to his illustrious subject, the Duke was the last person to take advantage. When, therefore, in 1826, the King would have wished him to hold the Constableship of the Tower in addition to that of Governor of Plymouth, to which he had been appointed in 1819, he declined thus standing in the way of other distinguished and meritorious officers. His letter to the King, which he wrote on the 18th of Dec., 1826, and the King's reply, are equally worthy of both correspondents.

The Duke's Refusal to hold the Governorship of Plymouth with the Constableship of the Tower.—1826.

"I stand in this situation in your Majesty's service. As I have long commanded your troops in the field, and have had frequent occasion to witness the good conduct of your officers, so am I in a great degree the person whom they employ to represent their merits in the proper quarter, and to solicit for them rewards and marks of your Majesty's favour.

"They would form a very erroneous notion of me, and it would be highly injurious to me, if they could suppose that I could be a competitor with them for a favour out of the usual course, and which never had been conferred upon

others, however distinguished and meritorious. I certainly feel that in proportion as the public have no reason to suspect that I am disposed to avail myself of your Majesty's gracious favour and kindness towards me to promote objects of my own and for my own personal advantage, the means which I may have of being serviceable to your Majesty will be increased.

"The disappointed in their objects do not seek for the truth. Your Majesty's gracious favour and kindness in this case could not be known, and it would be suspected that I had availed myself of these advantages to obtain from your Majesty two governments which had never before been held by any officer.

"Under these circumstances, and in expressing to your Majesty my most grateful thanks for your Majesty's gracious favour to me in appointing me Constable of the Tower, I entreat your Majesty to permit me to resign the Government of Plymouth." [1]

The Duke was reluctant to resign Plymouth, as he was able to gratify friends by lending them the official residence, and thought it not impossible that Lord Wellesley on leaving Ireland might like to reside there. He only gave way when he heard that the Duke of Gloucester would like to be governor, and was astonished at being told by the King at the levee that he was to retain Plymouth with the Constableship. The King in the following letter left it to the Duke "to take which would be most agreeable to his feelings," and he took the least valuable, the Constableship.[2]

The King to Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington.

"Royal Lodge, Dec. 21, 1826.

My dear Friend,—I must tell you that I feel a pride, whenever the opportunity offers, of showing not only the affection I have for you, but the gratitude which this country

[1] To the King, Dec. 18, 1826.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 497.

[2] To Lord Liverpool, Dec. 20, 1826, 2nd series, vol. iii. 499.

owes you. The glory of my reign is so identified with *you*, that the *one* cannot be separated from the *other*. It is like yourself to think so little of yourself, and as you do not choose to hold the office of Constable of the Tower and the Government of Plymouth together, take *that* which will be most agreeable to your own feelings. If you do *not* take that of Constable of the Tower, I will then bestow it on Field-Marshal Earl Harcourt, now from his great age the father of the whole army; in that case I shall appoint my old and attached friend and servant General Sir W. Keppell to succeed him in the government of Portsmouth, to whom I have long owed this debt of *proper* feeling. Upon *your* taking the Constableship, then Earl Harcourt shall go to Plymouth, and my intentions towards Keppell will still be fulfilled by the Government of Portsmouth. I have given you this detailed explanation to set you quite at your ease, and believe me,

"Ever yours very affectionately,

"G. R.

"P.S.—Give me one line with your decision as soon as you can. Alas, my poor brother!" (*the Duke of York*).[1]

Commander-in-Chief of the Army.[2]

On the death of the Duke of York, the Duke of Wellington was appointed to succeed to the command of the army. It became, therefore, necessary for him to issue a General Order on his appointment—the form of which, it will be seen, was characteristic of the writer.

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 499.

[2] On his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, the Duke said to Croker, "Yes, yes, I am in my proper place, in the place for which I was destined by my trade. I am a soldier, and my place is at the head of the army, as the Chancellor, who is a lawyer, is in his on the woolsack. We each of us have a trade, and in the proper position when we are exercising it."—Croker's 'Diary,' vol. i.

The Duke's Order on taking the Command of the Army.

Sir Henry Torrens had sent to the Duke an elaborate form of order eulogising the late Duke of York, the fulsomeness of which was but little agreeable to the new Commander-in-Chief. In reply, Sir Henry received the following characteristic letter:—

"Strathfieldsaye, Jan. 25, 1827.

"My dear Torrens,—I am very much obliged to you for your letter. I had thought myself that it would be necessary to announce to the army that I had taken the command, and I only regret that I had not sent you the order yesterday. I confess that I differ from you regarding the nature of the order. His Majesty has very properly, in my opinion, pronounced his opinion of the late lamented Commander-in-Chief, in a General Order to his army, at the conclusion of which he appoints me to the command.

"My order follows that of His Majesty, and it is most respectful to His Majesty not to obtrude my sentiments, as an individual, upon the army in relation to their loss and my own; or to His Royal Highness's character and conduct. My opinion then is that I ought to confine my order as nearly as possible to its object, and that it should be drawn in a few words. I enclose you, then, what I wish you would publish, and date it if possible as yesterday.

"I dare say that this order will not be approved. But nothing that I shall do for some time will be approved, and I must follow the unbiassed dictates of my own understanding. No man can accuse, with justice, me of not feeling even more than other men the magnitude of the loss which we have all sustained. I say more than other men, because I believe that circumstances have put me in the way of being able to appreciate it more justly. Nor can they accuse me of want of respect and affection for his memory, and his acts and conduct, which I have taken other and

substantial modes of testifying. But I confess I dislike to come before the army and the world with this parade immediately after the excellent order written by his Majesty."

"ENCLOSURE.

"G. O. 'In obedience to His Majesty's most gracious command Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington assumes the command of the army, and earnestly requests the assistance and support of the general and other officers of the army to maintain its discipline, good order, and high character.'"[1]

The Duke of York's Funeral and Debts.

For the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief the Duke of Wellington had the utmost respect. From his own experience he could fully appreciate his administration of the army, and hesitated not to testify to its value. When, then, on the death of the Prince, in consequence of the public outcry against his memory on account of his private character, the Cabinet of the day doubted whether they should appear in the funeral cortege, the Duke of Wellington did not hesitate to censure their timidity.

He wrote to Lord Bathurst:—

"London, Jan. 9, 1827.

"The funeral is to be anything but military. It cannot be military, because we have not men enough in England to bury a Field-Marshal. Whether the Government attend or not as a body, I will attend; and I could recommend you to do the same. In neither case will Lord Liverpool attend, I should think, as he is gone or going to Bath. Of this I am quite certain, that if it is suspected that the Government don't attend the funeral for the reason referred to by you, it will be the best attended funeral that ever took place in England."[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 565-6.

[2] *Ib.* p. 537. The funeral, as the writer well remembers seeing it from the house of a friend of the family at Hyde Park Corner, was a

That he should be the Prince's successor he naturally expected. He felt that he had the confidence of the army, and the respect of the people, as the greatest of living generals, but the last thing that he looked to was money. When therefore he consented to hold the command-in-chief with his present office of Master-General of the Ordnance, he made the stipulation that he should receive only one salary for both offices.

Unbounded, however, as was his respect for the military qualities of his predecessor, and deeply as he regretted the stain that he had left on his name by his enormous unpaid liabilities, he resisted earnestly the proposal that was made by Lord Londonderry to raise a subscription from the officers of the army to liquidate them. In a memorandum of this date he justly urged that their payment at that time might satisfy the creditors, but could not remove the imputations resting on the late Duke for incurring these debts and leaving them unpaid. "Though the creditors are satisfied," said the Duke, "and silenced, the fact will still remain." And then continues the memorandum:

"Let us only look at the situation of the general officers and officers of the army in general. There may be a dozen to twenty of us capable of subscribing a sum of money for any purpose. But the great majority of the general officers have from £300 to £400 a year. Those best provided for among those not having private fortunes, have from £700 to £1000 a year. How can it be supposed that men thus provided for can advance £300 or even £100 to pay the Duke of York's creditors? The distress of the creditors relieved (which,

---

miserable affair as a spectacle, rendered all the more miserable from the bitter cold of the day, which proved most dangerous to the mourners from the chill in St. George's Chapel. Canning, it is believed, caught his fatal chill then, which Lord Eldon escaped—so went the rumour—by standing on his hat. "I caught cold at Windsor," wrote Canning to the Duke, the same day from his bed, "matured by a long journey. I hope you have got the better of your indisposition, which I presume had the same origin. I presume also that Nash, or whoever filched the cloth or matting from under our feet in the aisle, had bets or insurances against the lives of the Cabinet."

by-the-by, it must be observed, has been occasioned by their own acts) would fall upon this meritorious body of men, who neither could nor would resist the call if made upon them, whatever might be the distress it would occasion to them and their families. I am certain that if this question is fairly considered, and that the list of general officers is accurately examined by those who have moved in this question, they will find that I am right, and they will see that the distress of the creditors relieved by the subscription will be more than counterbalanced by the distress which the subscription will occasion."

Admitting that it is thought desirable for the officers of the army to manifest their attachment to their late Commander-in-Chief, the Duke warns the promoters of the proposal "to take care not to propose to them measures which every man, or at all events the great majority, will feel to be, and which will be in fact, an exorbitant tax upon the scanty means of subsistence which he possesses for himself and his family."

"It is true that this measure will be cried up by that which we all despise, the venal Press, as the finest trait in the character of the army, the most marked instance of its attachment, &c., &c. But what compensation will these cries be for the individual distress which such a measure will occasion?

"I earnestly deprecate it, and I may do it with the more freedom as there are two persons now alive who know that I was willing to come forward, if others would, to arrange the Duke's debts, some years ago, if he would have allowed their being arranged." [1]

Again, he had to bring his influence to bear upon that most insane suggestion of the Duke of Clarence to commemorate his brother's death by a public dinner to the officers of the army.

[1] Memorandum, Jan. 27, 1827. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 551-3.

"London, May 9, 1827.

"I have received your note," he wrote to Lord Lynedoch, "and I assure you that there is no man more anxious than I am to pay every mark of respect to the memory of the Duke of York. But I should think we are rather too near that calamitous event for the particular description of mark of respect proposed, viz. a public dinner. Four months have just elapsed since the calamity befel us: five months will not have elapsed when the dinner will take place. His Majesty is still and will be still in mourning for his brother, as well as his Ministers and the great officers of the household. I would besides observe that a dinner is a mode of commemorating an event which has occasioned joy and happiness, and not the mode of commemorating a calamity which has occasioned the utmost grief to His Majesty and his Royal Family, and covered the nation with mourning. I beg you to do me the favour to suggest these considerations to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and I hope they will have the effect of inducing His Royal Highness to postpone for a further period of time, if not to forego altogether, the intention of adopting this mode of commemoration. But if His Royal Highness should persevere in his intention, I shall conclude that its execution has His Majesty's most gracious approbation; and in that case I will beg you to have my name put down to attend this dinner after that of Lord Anglesey, or the Secretary at War, or of the Adjutant or the Quartermaster-General, or the King's first aide-de-camp, whose presence at the dinner will convince me that I have taken an erroneous view of its nature."[1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 26.

The Duke of Clarence had suggested to the General Committee of the United Service Club, to hold a commemorial dinner in the Great Saloon on the 4th of June. Officers in uniform with crape on their arms. Dinner, including wine, 30s. per head. After the Duke of Wellington's letter the project was dropped.

CHAPTER X.—1827–8.

The Duke's Refusal to join the Cabinet of Mr. Canning—His Resignation of the Command-in-chief—The King's attempt to persuade him to return—Re-appointment to the Command on the Death of Mr. Canning, and Accession of the Goderich Cabinet.

Mr. Canning and the Duke.

It is evident from the correspondence of the Duke with Mr. Canning, that though, out of deference to Lord Liverpool, he acted with the former when Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and had been forward in recommending him for that position, on the death of Lord Castlereagh, he had but little confidence in his policy, especially as regarded the recognition of the South American Republics, whom the Duke could only regard as rebels to the crown of Spain. On Lord Liverpool's enforced retirement from the Premiership, Canning (April 10, 1827) wrote to the Duke that "the King had commanded him with as little time as possible to lay before him a plan of arrangements for the re-constitution of the Cabinet." In this letter he said, "that it would be as much his own wish, as his duty to His Majesty, to adhere to the principles on which Lord Liverpool's Government had so long acted together," and invited the Duke's continuance as a Cabinet Minister. The Duke simply wrote in reply to inquire "who the person was Canning intended to propose as the head of the Government." To this Canning replied on the same day, that "he believed it was so generally understood that the King usually entrusts the formation of an Administration to the individual whom it was His Majesty's all-gracious intention to place at the head of it, that it did not occur to him, when he communicated to His Grace yesterday the commands which he had just received from His Majesty, to add that, in the present case, His Majesty does not intend

to depart from the usual course of proceeding on such occasions." "I am sorry," he added, "to have delayed some hours this answer to your Grace's letter; but from the nature of the subject I did not like to forward it without having previously submitted it (together with your Grace's letter) to His Majesty."

As examples to justify his inquiry "who was to be the head," the Duke in his memorandum on the subject refers to the case of Mr. Canning asking Lord Liverpool who was to be Premier;—to the abortive attempt of Lord Wellesley and Lord Moira, in which the latter said "no place was pointed out for him;"—Mr. Canning's words to "lay before the King *a plan* of arrangements;"—and that "on the 2nd of April Canning had said to him, that if commissioned to re-arrange the Cabinet, he should recommend Robinson being transferred to the House of Lords and made First Lord of the Treasury."

In reply (April 11) the Duke, whilst doubting that this arrangement was as invariable as Canning supposed, added:

"I sincerely wish that I could bring my mind to the conviction that, with the best intentions on your part, your government could be conducted practically on the principles of that of Lord Liverpool's; that it would be generally so considered; or that it could be adequate to meet our difficulties in a manner satisfactory to the King, and conducive to the interests of the country. As, however, I am convinced that these principles must be abandoned eventually; that all our measures would be viewed with suspicion by the usual supporters of the Government; that I could do no good in the Cabinet, and that I should at the last be obliged to separate myself from it at a moment at which such separation would be more inconvenient to the King's service than it can be at present, I must beg you to request His Majesty to excuse me from belonging to his councils."[1]

At this time the Duke was Commander-in-Chief of the army as well as Master-General of the Ordnance, but it was

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 636–643.

only in this latter position that he was a member of the Cabinet, and he need not, therefore, have resigned the command of the army. There were many reasons, however, for the step which he took, so much to the displeasure of the King and the regret of the army. In addition to political differences, the tone and temper of Canning's letter of reply (which, as it had been previously submitted to the King, he was justified in regarding as a royal communication) were of a nature to render it difficult for him to remain as Commander-in-Chief.

"I could not," he said, "exercise that command to the advantage of His Majesty, the Government and the public, or with honour to myself, unless I was respected and treated with that fair confidence by His Majesty and his Ministers which I think I deserve, and nobody will think I was treated with confidence, respect, or civility by Mr. Canning in his last letter."

To the King the Duke wrote on the 12th of April:

"There is only one point on which I wish to trouble your Majesty, and that relates to my conduct when Mr. Canning was appointed Secretary of State, in reference to the events of the present moment. I certainly was one of those who advised your Majesty to take Mr. Canning into your councils in the year 1822; and I think it possible that circumstances which had occurred at that moment gave to my advice more weight than it would otherwise have deserved or obtained. It is likewise true that till within the last two years, during which Mr. Canning has given your Majesty entire satisfaction—a circumstance which fully justified the advice which your servants had given your Majesty—it fell to my lot, more than once, to reconcile your Majesty's mind to some of Mr. Canning's acts, and to regain for him your Majesty's confidence. But to recommend to your Majesty to appoint Mr. Canning Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to entrust to him the conduct of all the business of your

Majesty's Government in the House of Commons, is one thing; and to act under him as your Majesty's Minister is another, considering the difficult circumstances in which the Government is placed. I would beg to submit to your Majesty that these difficulties have not been occasioned by the appointment of Mr. Canning to his office in 1822, or by any act or advice of mine: and as I feel that it is out of my power to overcome or counteract these difficulties, I have entreated your Majesty to be permitted to retire."[1]

The King was very sore, and replied merely accepting, with deep regret, the resignation of both his offices, and ending, "the King abstains from any further expression of his feelings." Regarding the refusal of the Duke, Mr. Peel, and Lords Eldon, Westmoreland and Bexley to serve under the lead of Canning, as placing him at the mercy of the Roman Catholic party, the King spoke his mind plainly to Lord Londonderry.

"I declare to you openly" (said the King at an audience on the 13th of April), "broadly and distinctly—you are at liberty to state it everywhere—that whenever I take the Coronation Oath, I am for ever a Protestant King. The very act of the present men who desert me is to throw me into the arms of the Catholics, or commit me in a manner which they should have saved me from. But yet the resignations of Protestants I can in some degree understand. Peel for instance, a man of the highest integrity and honour, and respected by the whole country, rich in reputation, rich in domestic happiness, rich in wealth, wanting nothing,—he steers himself above every petty consideration."[2]

The feeling in the army excited by the Duke's resignation of the command soon forced the King to endeavour to persuade him to resume his post. The Duke, however, was firm; and he now added to his previous reasons—"the want of confidence in Canning, with whom as Premier he must have been in confidential communication, and appear to

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 630. [2] *Ib.* p. 633.

sanction measures including the reduction of the army by 10,000 men, of which he disapproved." Some new arrangement of the office was suggested by the Duke, but not carried out,[1] and the King, in vain, went to the length of sending for him to Windsor to talk him over. Without an apology from Canning for the tone and temper of his letter of the 11th of April, the Duke would not return to the Horse Guards.

On Canning's death, though having but little confidence in the constitution and continuance of Lord Goderich's Cabinet, he consented to resume his post, as one strictly non-political."[2] "If," he wrote to Lord Eldon, "the Administration have no claim on my services out of my profession, I on the other hand can be of no council or party against them."[3]

[1] The King's proposal for taking the command of the army, with a Board of General Officers as advisers, having been objected to by Canning as unconstitutional, the Duke suggested the appointment of a general officer of sufficient rank to conduct the business at the Horse Guards and to be guided by his advice. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 224–228.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 633. "The Government is now organised: we shall see how it goes on. Those composing it are not very well satisfied with each other or with His Majesty, nor are they respected by the public; nor have they the experience or habits necessary for the performance of the business of Government: and I believe the majority in Parliament is against them. They can certainly undertake nothing, and I doubt whether they can resist the torrent of mischief which is preparing for them. But who can help it? Certainly not the man who has no communication with the King or his Ministry." The Duke to Sir G. Murray, 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, Sept. 4, 1827.

[3] Metternich's opinion of Canning and the Duke may find a place here:—

"To Esterhazy (Ambassador in London).

"Aug. 19, 1827.

"I don't think it necessary to repeat to you the opinion we have from the first entertained of the merits of the man whom Providence foisted upon England and Europe like a malevolent meteor. As for you, you have heard me long ago pronounce the judgment which his contemporaries have already formed of him. The task which the impartial historian will have to fulfil concerning the public life of this man will be easy. He has shaken everything and destroyed a great deal, but he has built up nothing—a sad but common thing with men of his stamp. England is delivered from a great scourge. Will the world seek for compensation for

The following extracts from the second series of the 'Despatches' exhibit the difficulties which attended the Duke's resignation of and return to the command of the army, and the failure of the attempt of the King to persuade him to withdraw his resignation.

Resignation of the Command of the Army.

To Sir Herbert Taylor.

"London, May 21, 1827.

"MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have received your letter of yesterday. I stated in Parliament, as well as upon every occasion elsewhere, that I considered that there was nothing of a political nature which ought to prevent me from taking the command at the Horse Guards, equally as of an army in the field. I resigned the command because I had received a rebuke for which I had given no provocation, and in which the authority of the King's name was very unnecessarily introduced. I believe there is no difference of opinion between us upon this subject, any more than there is that this rebuke was such a signal of want of confidence as that I could not continue to hold my office with advantage to His Majesty.

"Considering this rebuke as proceeding from the highest authority, I have never thought this affair a private matter, requiring what is called reconciliation. Those in authority will decide whether I was mistaken in the view which I took of these communications (which they have never said yet), and whether confidence exists, and under what circum-

the evil which has been done to it by him to an extent which cannot be estimated? This important question can only be answered in ways and means so far beyond our powers that all we can do is to wait and hope. We have great confidence in the Duke of Wellington. His social position and character give him a position and impose duties upon him peculiar to himself: our sincerest good wishes will attend his steps; and if the Duke seek for some place as *point d'appui*, where the support of the good cause, if free from individual prejudices and errors, he will go, I flatter myself, he will go to seek it in Vienna." 'Autobiography,' vol. iv. 329.

stances, in what manner, and at what time, such decision should be made. For this the door can never be closed.

"It will then remain for His Majesty and his servants likewise to decide whether it suits His Majesty's service and his purposes that I should resume command. But it appears to me quite clear that till they will have made up their minds upon the first point it is useless to think of this last.

"Believe me, &c.

"WELLINGTON."[1]

The King to F. M. the Duke of Wellington.

"St. James's Palace, May 21, 1827.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I learn from my Government, as well as from other quarters, that you have obligingly expressed your readiness to afford your advice, if required, upon any matters of military importance or detail that might occur. These circumstances renew in me those feelings towards you, which God knows (as you must know) I have so long and so sincerely felt, and I hope on all occasions proved; at least it was always my intention to do so. I cannot refrain, therefore, from acquainting you that the command of *the army* is still open, and if you choose to recall that resignation, which it grieved me so much to receive, you have my sincere permission to do so.[2]

"Ever your sincere friend,

"G. R."

The Duke to the King.

"London, May 22, 1827.

"Your Majesty's most gracious letter of yesterday reached me last night, and I beg leave to return your Majesty my most grateful acknowledgments for your kindness.

[1] ["This is a letter I wrote to Sir H. Taylor, which Mr. Canning saw on the morning of the day on which he advised the King to write to me, viz. the 21st May."]

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 34–5.

"I cannot claim the merit of having had any communication of any description with your Majesty's Government since I quitted office. I did state both to Lord Anglesey and to Sir Herbert Taylor that I should be most happy to render each of them every assistance in my power to enable them to carry on the duties of their several offices, and to the latter in particular I have since written twice in consequence of reports which had reached me of the state of affairs in Portugal, inducing me to believe that it was desirable that your Majesty's forces in that country should be collected in one body and encamped in the neighbourhood of Lisbon.

"I have served the late King and your Majesty for forty-two years, thirty-four of which either in the field against the enemy in command of your Majesty's armies abroad, particularly for six years in the Peninsula, or in active political office; and even if I had not been, as I was, a party to the advice given to your Majesty to send a body of troops to Portugal, the anxiety which I feel for the honour of your Majesty's arms, and the gratitude which I owe to your Majesty for your Majesty's most gracious favour and kindness towards me, would have induced me to state my opinion to that officer who was principally confided in by your Majesty in military affairs, when it appeared to me that the position of your Majesty's troops was becoming critical.

"I am delighted that my doing so has attracted your Majesty's favourable notice; but I assure your Majesty that I had not a notion that the existence of these letters would ever be made known to your Majesty; still less did I intend in writing them to manifest any desire to withdraw my resignation of the office of Commander-in-Chief. Your Majesty has been pleased to observe that the command of the army is still open, and that if I choose to recall my resignation of that command I have your Majesty's permission to do so.

"I earnestly hope that your Majesty will have the goodness

to refer to the reason which I stated to your Majesty on the 12th of April, and more fully to your Majesty's Minister on the 6th of May, as having imposed on me the painful necessity of offering to your Majesty my resignation of the command of your Majesty's forces.

"I humbly entreat your Majesty to bear in mind that these reasons still continue in force, and that were I under such circumstances to recall my resignation, I should by that act admit that I had not been justified in retiring, and I should disable myself from rendering that useful service to your Majesty which it would be, as it ever has been, the pride of my life to render."[1]

The Visit to the King in July.

"London, July 31, 1827.

"My dear Lord Aberdeen,—I have not seen you to relate to you the causes and circumstances of my visit to Windsor which created such an earthquake in London.

"Before I left town on the 14th my brother, Lord Maryborough, had come to press me to go down to his house near Windsor, in order to avail myself of the opportunity of being there to go over and pay my respects to His Majesty. The King had desired him to do so. However, I wrote to decline to act according to his suggestion, as I could not presume to approach His Majesty excepting in consequence of his commands, even under pretence of inquiring after his health. Lord Maryborough afterwards came over to Strathfieldsaye to suggest other schemes, all of which I declined to adopt, and at last he told me that he was desired by the King to say that His Majesty was surprised that, not having gone to take leave of him when I resigned my office, I declined to go to pay my respects, particularly being in his neighbour-

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 36.

hood. I then determined that I would go; and I wrote to Lord Maryborough the following morning that I was just about to set out to pay my respects to His Majesty in consequence of the communication which I had received through him. It thus follows, that it was as true that I was not invited nor expected, as it is true respecting two thieves, one of whom holds the stolen articles, the other having stolen them, that the plea is good that the first did not steal them and that the second has not got them in his possession.

"His Majesty was very kind and gracious in his conversation with me, which lasted I think above three hours. He went over the whole story of the change of the Ministry in his own way, in answer to which I told him that I thought I recollected some circumstances as having occurred in a manner different from that in which His Majesty had stated that they occurred, and of others I had no knowledge, and that I recollected others which His Majesty had not mentioned, but that on the whole I thought it best not to enter upon that discussion.

"In respect to the command of the army, I explained in detail to His Majesty the principle on which I had acted, and that it was impossible for me to return to the command, after all that had passed, till Mr. Canning should make reparation for his offensive letter. The whole conversation was in perfect good humour, and we parted the best of friends possible.

"This interview proved to me that I had not been mistaken when I judged in April, that His Majesty was determined at all hazards that Mr. Canning should be his Minister; and that the influence still exists in at least as strong a degree as ever. The *earthquake* which the visit occasioned in London, and the misrepresentations upon the subject of it, show the importance attached to any intercourse between His Majesty and myself, and that I viewed that matter

correctly as well as the other. In other respects the visit has done no good.

"You may show this letter to Lady Aberdeen, with my best respects, &c.

"Believe me, &c.

"WELLINGTON."[1]

The Duke's Return to the Command of the Army.—1827.

The King to the Duke.

Enclosed in a letter from Lord Anglesey who had succeeded the Duke as Master-General of the Ordnance.

"Royal Lodge, Aug. 15, 1827.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I write for the purpose of again offering to you the command of my army, and I sincerely hope that the time is arrived when the country will no longer be deprived of the benefit of your high talents.

"Always with great truth your sincere friend,

"G. R."

The Duke to the King.

"Kingston Hall, Aug. 17, 1827.

"I have received your Majesty's most gracious commands conveying to me the offer of the command of your Majesty's

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 68–9. In a letter to Earl Bathurst, of Aug. 1, the Duke says that "the King wished to see him for several reasons; such as to satisfy Lady Conyngham and his family, and possibly to have a resource in case of an evil day; and likewise, if he could, to *coax* me into taking the command back again without requiring any concessions from Mr. Canning, and of course giving him all the advantages which would result from the arrangement so made. But when he found the last failed, he misrepresented to Mr. Canning the mode in which I had been prevailed upon to visit him at the Lodge. The consequences, however, of that visit will prevent him from seeking a repetition of it, and from inviting me to the Lodge and the only advantage that will have been derived from the visit is to show me exactly how all the parties stand towards each other."

army, which I accept; and your Majesty may rely upon it that, in performing the duties of the high station which your Majesty has most graciously called upon me to fill, it will be my earnest wish and endeavour to give your Majesty the same satisfaction which it has been the happiness and pride of my life to give you heretofore. Which is submitted to your Majesty by your Majesty's most devoted subject,

"WELLINGTON."

The King to the Duke.

"Royal Lodge, Friday night, Aug. 17, 1827.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have this evening by the hands of Lord Anglesey received your affectionate and dutiful letter.

"I write to you immediately, that I may have the pleasure and satisfaction (as soon as you can conveniently come to me) of seeing you, that you may kiss hands, and assume the command of the army without delay. I will add one word more, merely to express the happiness I shall have in receiving you.

"Ever, with true regard, your sincere friend,

"G. R."

The following extracts from letters to Lord Goderich, the new Premier, and Lord Westmoreland, show the terms on which the Duke accepted the position.

"Kingston Hall, Aug. 17, 1827.

"MY DEAR LORD GODERICH,—I have received your letter from Lord Anglesey. I have never thought that political differences of opinion ought to prevent me from commanding His Majesty's army at the Horse Guards, *equally as an army in the field;* and I have written to His Majesty, in answer to his most gracious letter, that I accept his most gracious offer of the command of his army."[1]

How delicate the Duke's position was is stated with his

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 96.

usual plainness in the following extract from a letter to Lord Bathurst dated Aug. 25, 1827:—

"I concur very much in your views—my position is a very difficult one; and I cannot expect to give entire satisfaction in it. But those who will have least reason to complain will be the Ministers, as they must be certain that I could not involve myself in all their Portuguese (the Donna Maria regency) and Greek follies; and that I could not stay away when they shall endeavour, as they will, to make the late Government parties to them.

"These questions, a corn law question of reduction, and possibly Mr. Canning's scheme for keeping the Roman Catholic question quiet by repealing the Acts which prevent communication with Rome, will be the business of next session; and if I wish it ever so much, I cannot be otherwise than involved in them all. However, I have taken my ground. They made the offer after knowing it, and I took it again in the answer which I gave, and they must blame themselves if they should represent that they have been deceived, and nobody else."[1]

To Lord Westmoreland he wrote:—

"You are as well aware as I am of what passed heretofore between His Majesty, Mr. Canning and myself respecting the command of the army. I don't think I could have refused to take the command when thus frankly and fairly offered to me—the reasons alleged for refusing no longer existing—without taking new ground for my refusal, differing from that before taken as the reason for resigning, and inconsistent with my previous professions in public as well as in private and in writing. I have stated to Lord Goderich distinctly that I take the command as of an army in the field, notwithstanding differences of opinion. I am aware of the delicacy of the position in which I shall be

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 105.

placed. But I think I can overcome that difficulty more easily than I could the abandonment of my professional position, or any inconsistency upon the reasons of my resignation.

"Believe me, ever yours sincerely,

"WELLINGTON."[1]

Many letters follow in this volume, from general officers and others, marking the sincere and cordial satisfaction with which the Duke's return was received.

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 98.

CHAPTER XI.—1828.

The Duke's first Ministry—How the Cabinet was made up—Publication of Cabinet Secrets—Minor Troubles—Slavery in our Colonies—The Duke and the Lord High Admiral's attempts at Independent Authority.

The Duke as Premier.

On the fall of the Goderich Ministry in the first week of Jan. 1828—from innate weakness,—the Duke was summoned to Windsor by the King and instructed to form a Cabinet, of which he should be the head. At the interview on the 9th of Jan., the Duke told his Sovereign that "Situated as he professionally was, he must consult with others and take time before he could consent."

"I then inquired" (he writes to Sir Robert Peel) "what he desired; whether he had any wishes for particular persons, or objections to any. He said that he thought the Government must be composed of persons of both opinions in respect to the Roman Catholic question; that he approved of all his late and former servants; and that he had no objection to anybody excepting to Lord Grey.

"He afterwards expressed a wish to retain the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Carlisle in his service, and he spoke highly of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Dudley; but upon the whole he left me a *carte blanche*, with the single exception above mentioned, and he repeatedly desired that I would form for him a strong Government. The Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) was present.

"Now, my dear Peel, I entreat you to come to town, in order that I may consult with you, and have the benefit of your

co-operation in the execution of this interesting commission. You will see that the whole case is before you for discussion. I have declined to make myself the head of the Government unless, upon discussion with my friends, it should appear desirable; and excepting Lord Lyndhurst, who, it must be understood, is in office,[1] everything else is open to all mankind excepting to one person.

"P.S.—The King said that it was to be understood that the Roman Catholic question was not to be made a Cabinet question; that there was to be a Protestant Lord Chancellor, a Protestant Lord Lieutenant, and a Protestant Lord Chancellor of Ireland."[2]

With Mr. Peel's advice the Cabinet was formed, not without difficulty from the newspaper reports that were made as to persons of whom it was to be constituted. In consequence of one of these rumours being traced to Mr. Herries, the Duke addressed to that statesman the following lecture on the duty of keeping Cabinet secrets. On the duty of all persons in the employment of Government abstaining from communicating in official matters with any one but the proper authority the Duke held a very decided opinion, and had all through his career maintained a strict habit. Hence within a few months after his Government was formed, he wrote the following lecture on the duty of official reticence to our Minister at the Court of Portugal.

Publication of Cabinet Secrets.

To Right Honourable J. C. Herries.

"London, Jan. 21, 1828.

"My dear Sir,—In answer to your letter of yesterday, I assure you that there never was an event comparatively so trifling in itself that will produce such important consequences on the destinies of the country, as will the

[1] Lord Lyndhurst was Lord Chancellor in the Goderich Cabinet.

[2] To the Right Honourable Robert Peel, Jan. 9, 1828. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 183–4.

premature disclosure in the newspapers of the names of the newly formed Ministry, notwithstanding the precautions and pains I took to prevent it. I know that your experience in the Cabinet has shown you every Minister having a newspaper as much as a secretary. But I assure you that such is not the prevailing practice, nay that such practice is absolutely inconsistent with the first duty of a Minister as prescribed by the oath of a Privy Councillor, and that it is absolutely impossible to transact public business in this country without secrecy. By secrecy I don't mean mystery. But I mean, that a member of the Cabinet should understand it, and make it a rule of his conduct, never to mention or make known to any person whatever, much less to a person likely to publish it in a newspaper, anything of which he has obtained a knowledge in his situation of a Cabinet Councillor.

"Having written this much on the subject, I will say no more upon it, but to entreat you to bear in mind the rule to which I have before adverted, and to understand that the knowledge which you find exists in any quarter upon any subject, does not afford any excuse for talking of it, when you have obtained your knowledge of it as a member of the Cabinet." [1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 212. Mr. Herries's sons, in their memoir of their father, give the following explanation of this incident: "It chanced one day that Mr. Herries inadvertently left lying on his writing-table, when he went for a few minutes into another room, a memorandum of the composition of the new Ministry. During his short absence a visitor was shown in, who, reading the names and offices in the paper on the table, took a note of them for communication to the *Chronicle*. Mr. Spearman, Mr. Herries's secretary, in a letter of Feb. 22, 1828, considers the Duke to have made an unnecessary fuss about it, as Dawson had given Holmes, the Tory whip, a confidential tip the night before, which Holmes had sent to Dublin."—'Memoir of Right Honourable J. C. Herries,' vol. ii. 64–5. Which was the worst, Herries's carelessness, or the treachery of his friend?

Official Reticence.

To Hon. Sir F. Lamb.

"April 14, 1828.

"I received your letter of the —— on Saturday, and this morning that of the 5th, and I do not lose a moment in assuring you that, since your departure from this country, I have not written a line to Lisbon excepting to yourself; and that I have never had any correspondence with that country excepting with the Conde de Perva upon my private affairs, and with Sir W. Clinton while I was in the office of Commander-in-chief. I will go further and tell you this. I have been too long in the public service of this country, and know my duty in office too well, to think of writing to anybody upon public affairs, excepting the official person charged with the conduct of the particular affair under discussion. My practice indeed has been more strict upon this subject than that of others. I commanded abroad for many years; and had two brothers at different times, and many friends always, in the Cabinet. I never wrote a line to anybody excepting to the Secretary of State, with whom I was directed to correspond; and to him very little excepting officially. In the same manner, when employed in the diplomatic service, I never wrote excepting to the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department; that Secretary of State having been for the two last occasions I was so employed, Mr. Canning. On the other hand, when in office and in the Cabinet, I always refused to correspond even with my own brother, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and for six years I never wrote to him excepting upon mere family affairs, such as his marriage. You may rely upon it, therefore, that those who have told you that there are any letters from me at Lisbon have deceived you. I defy the production of a line excepting to yourself, nor have I spoken to anybody more than a word upon the subject, excepting to

the King's servants, my colleagues and to Prince Esterhazy. I will go further, and tell you that even to yourself I did not write without showing my letter to Lord Dudley (Secretary for Foreign Affairs) as I shall yours of the 5th and this answer to it." [1]

The Hon. Sir F. Lamb was our Minister at the Court of Portugal at the time of the troubles arising from the action of the Infante Don Miguel.

How the Cabinet was Constituted.

Of his difficulties in the formation of his mixed Cabinet, the Duke gave Mr. Croker a most graphic description :—

"Jan. 24, 1828.

"I have seen the Duke, and this is what passed : a friendly greeting, and then he wished to see me to express his hope that the arrangement he had formed was such as to conciliate my confidence and support. I replied that I had never ceased to wish that his Grace were in the Cabinet, and that knowing as I did, his opinions on the subject, I presumed that force of circumstances alone obliged him to be at the head of it. He stated how he was beset and plagued with importunities and remonstrances, and compared himself to a dog with a canister tied to his tail. 'There,' he said, pointing to a formidable pile of green bags and red boxes, 'there is the business of the country which I have not time to look at—all my time is employed in assuaging what gentlemen call their *feelings*. In short the folly and un-

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 372–3.

During the Peninsular War the Prince Regent was anxious that Wellington should correspond with him, and hurt that he did not do so. "But," said he to Larpent (April 13), "I wrote to his Ministers, and that was enough. What had I to do with him? However, his late favour was a reason for my writing. I have had a most gracious (?) answer evidently courting my correspondence," but which he intimated he should not comply with.

reasonableness of people are inconceivable.' He then let out the true secret of his arrangements by saying that, 'What Peel said is perfectly true, those who are for forming an Exclusive Ministry expect that I am to go into the House of Commons with *half* a party to fight a *party and a half*.'"[1]

At length the Cabinet was formed, four of Mr. Canning's friends (Lords Dudley and Palmerston, C. Grant and Mr. Huskisson) forming it; Mr. Lamb, the future Lord Melbourne, going to Ireland as Chief Secretary to Lord Anglesey, Lord Lyndhurst on the woolsack, and Mr. Peel again Home Secretary.

At first the Duke entertained the intention of holding the command of the army in addition to the Premiership, to which not only the Opposition leaders, but his own colleagues objected. In deference to the wishes of the latter, on the 1st of February, 1828, he resigned this position, and on his advice his old comrade Lord Hill was appointed.[2]

The Canningite members of the Cabinet soon resigned on the resignation of Mr. Huskisson, and their places were supplied by men who were able and conscientious administrators, but of little mark in Parliament. Still, until the death of George IV. and the Reform crisis in 1830, the Duke's first Cabinet remained in power, and did good work. It had, however, no bed of roses on which to repose. In addition to difficulties with foreign powers and the menacing attitude of Russia towards Turkey; the repression of the Slave Trade; the repeal of the Sacramental Test as a condition of office; the initiatory struggle for Parliamentary Reform, and, above all,

[1] Croker to Lord Hertford, Jan. 24, 1828, vol. i. 404.

[2] Lord Hill was made senior officer upon the staff, performing the duties of commander-in-chief, for the following reason:—"There is no doubt," wrote the Duke to Lord Hill, "that your appointment will be highly satisfactory to the country as well as to the army; but it has occurred to some of the members of the Government, that considering the place in which you stand on the list, it is better that in relation to the senior officers of the army, some of whom have high pretensions, you should be senior officer, &c." 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, iv. 252. Lord Hill held his office until the autumn of 1842, resigning only a few months before his death, and was succeeded by the Duke on the 15th of Aug. 1842.

the settlement of the Roman Catholic claims, rendered all the more pressing by the election of O'Connell for Clare County, had to be faced. And this had to be done with a Sovereign whose natural obstinacy and temper was increased by failing health; by the underhand doings of his brother the Duke of Cumberland, and the excitable temperament and unwise ambition of the Duke of Clarence, so unfortunately promoted by Mr. Canning to be Lord High Admiral. How by a judicious exercise of patience and firmness of decision, these difficulties were surmounted, is told in the Duke's own plain language in the following extracts, commencing with two of his minor troubles—the craving of his political supporters for honours, and the annoyance to which he was subjected by amateur advisers.

Grounds for Refusing to Recommend a Friend for a Peerage.

To Sir ——.

"London, Jan. 29, 1828.

"My dear Sir,—In respect to your wishes to be created a peer, I conceive that, in the existing state of the peerage, and considering that the King has added twenty-six to the list of British peers since the summer of 1826, it is the duty of the person who fills the office in which I am placed to discourage and protest against any more being created unless some public service of magnitude or public emergency should require it. If this duty is not performed, either the House of Lords will become a democratic body or a nuisance, or contemptible and useless. In either case the constitution of the country will be overturned. Entertaining these opinions, I could not recommend you for this honour with propriety, on the score of your being a friend of mine. Your claims of family, &c., are excellent, but those of fortune would fail you; and, at all events, I could not propose such an arrangement, excepting on the most clear public grounds and emergency."[1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 220.

"Strathfieldsaye, Oct. 29, 1828.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 28th inst. and return the enclosure. You must have been very much surprised when you received it, more particularly as you are not aware of the advantage which I possess in the proffered assistance of nearly every gentleman in England, who has nothing to do but to amuse himself, and is tired of his usual amusements, and of reading the newspapers. There is not a subject of public interest upon which I do not receive hundreds of letters, numerous almost in proportion to the difficulty and importance attached to each. Corn, Currency, Poor Laws, Payment of the National Debt, Adjustment of the Roman Catholic Question, are the favourite topics; and to read this correspondence it might be believed that there would be nothing so easy as to arrange all our difficulties. Political arrangements and objects of minor importance are not beneath their notice; and I have come to the conclusion that the English are the most officious people that I have yet met with. I must say for this gentleman that he has not the same excuse for his officiousness that others might have. It appears that he has something to do. To be sure he does not like his employment."[1]

Slavery in our Colonies.

Since the resolutions of the House of Commons proposed by Mr. Canning, little progress had been made in that progressive improvement which it was intended to effect in ameliorating the condition of slaves in our Colonies. By the circular then issued by our Colonial Office the flogging of female slaves had been strictly prohibited, and a strong recommendation given that the whip should no longer be carried in the fields by the overseer, as an emblem of authority, or employed as a ready instrument of his displeasure. This circular, in almost all our West Indian Colonies, had produced only votes of indignation by their

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 184.

local assemblies. In Demerara, where its recommendations had been complied with, the negroes, entertaining a belief that orders for their immediate freedom had arrived from England, rose, and imprisoned their masters, but without bloodshed. The rising, however, was soon put down, many slaves executed by orders of court-martial or mercilessly flogged, and the Colony subjected to martial law for a period of five months. Under this law, a missionary of the name of John Smith was tried for inciting the negroes, convicted on the most unreliable evidence and by proceedings which were a mockery of justice, and sentenced to death. The Governor of the Colony, however, did not venture to execute the sentence, and the Home Government, to whom it was referred, rescinded it, but decreed the missionary's banishment from the Colony. Sad to say, before the decision of the Government could reach the Colony, the poor fellow had died in the wretched prison in which he had been confined. That such a case should rouse public opinion, was to be expected, and was naturally taken advantage of by the Anti-Slavery Society in their appeals to public opinion. In a discussion in the House of Lords in July 1828, this intention of the abolitionists was openly advocated, and brought from the Duke a word of warning of its all but certain results. On the faith of the newspaper report of his speech, Mr. James Stephen wrote to the Duke a letter, in which he imputed to him the unconstitutional doctrine that Parliament had no right to legislate for the Colonies. Hence the following letter:—

Anti-Slavery Agitation.

To James Stephen, Esq.

"London, July 25, 1828.

"SIR,—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 24th inst.; and although I must decline to explain in Parliament what I said in debate, which has been misrepresented in the newspapers, I have no objection to inform you that I did not say anything so absurd as that Parliament had no right to legislate for the West Indian Colonies. I must have forgotten all that had passed, and the principle

on which I was acting, and I must likewise have forgotten a bill at that moment on the table of the House of Lords, if I could have uttered such an opinion.

"What I did say was that the Secretary of State had no right to give *orders* to the Colonial assemblies; and I deprecated the measure of forcing on the Colonies the provisions of law recommended for their adoption, inasmuch as it would be found that without the assistance of the resident gentry and proprietors these provisions of law could not be carried into execution.[1]

"I have now only to make an observation upon the intention

[1] Among the difficulties that had interposed in the way of the abolition of the slave trade was the state of feeling in France. "There exists no moral feeling in France against the traffic," the Duke wrote to Zachary Macaulay in 1821, "and it is believed that our measures for the abolition are founded upon views of interest: that having filled our Colonies with slaves, and having had reason to apprehend the consequences of increasing their numbers, we had suddenly put an end to the trade, and that we now sought to deprive other countries of its known profits and advantages, which did not enjoy the same Colonial prosperity, and which did not entertain the same apprehensions of an increased negro population. There is no truth in all this; but still we must not be surprised that it has its effect in a country of which the inhabitants are almost universally as ignorant as they are full of national prejudices and avaricious of commercial profit and advantage."—'Wellington Despatches,' May 8, 1821, 2nd series, vol. i. 170.

The following extract from Mr. Larpent, at the close of the war in 1814, will show how early this prejudice against our efforts to crush the slave trade had arisen in France:—

"Mr. Wilberforce should exert himself in getting little essays, written in French on the Slave Trade, circulated in France, to enlighten the people in some degree at least. At present, even the more intelligent and better sort of men seem only to consider the English as playing the part of Don Quixote in this business, and consider the whole as a sort of romantic affectation of humanity; whilst many others insinuate motives not quite so honourable by stating that having well supplied our own islands with slaves, we wish to give up all the other Colonies with a diminished black population, and in a bad condition, and then to prevent their ever recovering themselves. This is to be done by the abolition of the slave trade, whilst our own islands, in full prosperity, will be ready to reap the benefit of the distress of their rivals."—F. S. Larpent, vol. iii. 284.

of yourself, your friends *to adopt a new style of appeal to the people at large and to invoke the popular voice.* It must be intended to rouse the people by such *appeals and invocations*, in order (I won't say to intimidate, but) to induce the Government and Parliament to force upon the Colonies measures which the wisdom of the Government and of Parliament might think it expedient to obtain by milder means.

"Before these *invocations* are made, I earnestly intreat you to re-peruse the Histories of the Revolution in St. Domingo, likewise brought about by popular appeals and invocations, and of the miseries which it occasioned; and the various accounts of the state of society at present existing in that once flourishing and beautiful island; and I likewise entreat you to direct these '*appeals*' and '*invocations*,' which you have in contemplation against those Ministers, or rather against that Minister, who you think betrays his duty to his Sovereign and to the public by lukewarmness in the cause of these reforms in the Colonies, rather than to produce a premature and forced adoption of them by popular clamour."[1]

The Duke of Clarence and the Premier.

On his accession to the premiership, Canning, very unadvisedly, revived the long disused appointment of Lord High Admiral, in the person of the Duke of Clarence. Though devoted to his profession, which he entered in his fifteenth year, and assiduous and competent in his duties as a subaltern, when raised to a captaincy, the Duke had at once exhibited the weakness and eccentricity of his character, twice leaving a foreign station and returning home without orders,—actions which could not be overlooked even in a Prince Royal, and in one of his station could only be punished by his enforced retirement from active service in 1789. From that time for many a long year, he was in comparative obscurity, rising of course step by step in nominal rank; hampered by his illicit connexion with the

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' vol. iv. 556–7.

actress Mrs. Jordan, trying his utmost to get married to one of the heiresses of the day, and at last, when the untimely death of the Princess Charlotte made it necessary that legitimate heirs to the succession should be obtained, married to the Princess Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen. All hopes in this direction were soon crushed by the death of his two infant daughters, and the Duke once more sank back into obscurity, until brought forward by Mr. Canning.

At first the new Lord High Admiral distinguished himself harmlessly, by a morbid official activity, and a love of speechmaking, in season and out of season. Soon, however, prompted apparently by his secretary, he tried to make himself independent of his Council, was personally offensive to Sir G. Cockburn, the first Naval Lord, and even pressed for his dismissal. During the administrations of Mr. Canning and Lord Goderich, amid much discomfort and disagreement, peace was ostensibly kept at the Admiralty Board. In August 1828, however, the Duke made so open an attempt to act without his Council, that the Duke of Wellington, as the then Premier, felt bound to bring his conduct before the King, and after a voluminous correspondence between all parties interested—the substance of which can only be given—the Lord High Admiral resigned his post. To his family, his resignation was welcome. They had long feared that his love of interfering in everything was affecting his mind, naturally weak and irritable, and gladly saw him return to private life, in which his regular habits, increased allowances, and close prospects of the Crown, now that his brother of York had died, procured him more consideration than he had hitherto enjoyed.

The First Attempt to Dismiss Admiral Cockburn.

The Duke of Wellington to the King.

"London, July 11, 1828.

"It is my duty to inform your Majesty that there are certain delicate questions in discussion between the Lord High Admiral and His Royal Highness's Council, to which some attention must be paid.

"These discussions originated in His Royal Highness's desire to establish a standing commission of officers of the

navy for the consideration of gunnery and other matters connected with your Majesty's Naval Service; which desire His Royal Highness expressed when Sir G. Cockburn was absent at Plymouth. Upon Sir George Cockburn's return to town, the plan proposed, to which the Council had objected, was modified by the Council of the Lord High Admiral, and as modified was submitted for His Royal Highness's pleasure and signed by His Royal Highness.

"His Royal Highness afterwards sent for Sir James Cockburn, and complained to him in very strong terms of his brother, the Admiral's conduct in respect to this Commission. Sir G. Cockburn having subsequently conversed with His Royal Highness and explained that his objections, in common with those of the Council generally, applied to the permanent establishment of the Commission, and to the extent of the objects of their inquiry (which in fact embraced all the duties of the Admiralty), rather than to the Commission itself for inquiry into any particular branch of the service, the discussion ended amicably. The discussion has, however, been renewed within these two days, and now embraces objects far more extensive and important to your Majesty's service and to the public interests. It appears that His Royal Highness recently hoisted his flag of Lord High Admiral on board the *Royal Sovereign* yacht in the river, without the knowledge of his Council; and on Wednesday the 9th inst., His Royal Highness being then at Bushey Park, sent an order dated on board the *Royal Sovereign* (which I have above referred to), on the 10th July, directing the Commission to proceed to Portsmouth, to meet His Royal Highness on Monday next.

"There can be no doubt of the irregularity of this order and of its inconvenient consequences.

"It creates an expense indefinite in amount, for which His Royal Highness is alone responsible. It is defective in point of form; and it establishes a precedent inconsistent with the provisinos of the patent by which His Royal Highness was

appointed Lord High Admiral, and with the public interests, and it defeats the objects of the Act of the last Session of Parliament.[1]

"The arrangement understood then was this: that His Royal Highness, acting with the knowledge, the advice and assistance of two or more of his Council, possessed all the power heretofore possessed by the Board of Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"It is quite obvious, however, that if His Royal Highness can hoist his flag as Lord High Admiral on board a yacht in the river, and can from thence transmit orders to any branch or department of the service, the Council becomes useless, His Royal Highness becomes involved in official and pecuniary responsibility; the objects of the law are defeated; and I could easily show your Majesty that your Majesty's interests, those of the public, and the responsibility of your Government are all in a state of risk without any cause to justify such risk."

Upon receiving the order above mentioned, dated July 10, Sir George wrote to the Lord High Admiral a firm but courteous letter, pointing out its irregularity, and requesting him if he did not agree with the writer's opinions to have them submitted to the King. The following was the reply of the Duke of Clarence:—

"SIR,—Your letter of this morning does not give me displeasure, but concern to see one I had kept when appointed to this situation of Lord High Admiral *constantly* opposing what I consider *good* for the King's service."

The Duke of Clarence persisted in his demand in a letter to the Premier of July 12. In this he characterised Sir George's subsequent letter as "more *disrespectful* and more *impertinent* than his first," and that "it was totally out of his power to carry on His Majesty's naval concerns with Sir George Cockburn as a member of his Council." The Premier again brought the difficulty before the King, at the

[1] The Duke then recited the powers given by the original warrant and the terms of the Act of Parliament, vesting the appointment of the Council in the Crown.

same time informing him that if Sir George was removed the other Lords of the Council would resign.

The result was the following firm letter from the King to his ill-advised brother, and his reply, in which he made an attack on Sir George in the very worst taste.

The King to the Duke of Clarence.

"Royal Lodge, Windsor, July 15, 1828.

"MY DEAR WILLIAM,—My friend the Duke of Wellington, as my first Minister, has considered it his duty to lay before me the whole of the correspondence that has taken place with you upon the subject relating to yourself and Sir G. Cockburn.

"It is with feelings of the deepest regret that I observe the embarrassing situation in which you have placed yourself. You are in error from the beginning to the end. This is not a matter of opinion, but a positive fact; and when the Duke of Wellington so properly calls your attention to the words of your patent, let me ask you how Sir G. Cockburn could have acted otherwise.

"You must not forget, my dear William, that Sir George Cockburn is the King's Privy Councillor, and so made by the King, to advise the Lord High Admiral. What becomes of Sir G. Cockburn's oath, his duty towards me, his Sovereign, if he fails to offer such advice as he may think necessary to the Lord High Admiral? Am I, then, to be called upon to dismiss the most useful, and perhaps the most important, naval officer in my service for conscientiously acting up to the letter and spirit of his oath and his duty? The thing is impossible. I love you *most truly*, as you know, and no one would do more or go further to protect and meet your feelings; but on the present occasion I have no alternative; you must give way, and listen to the affection of your best friend and most attached brother.[1] "G. R."

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 530.

The Duke of Clarence to the King.

"*Royal Sovereign* Yacht, Portsmouth Harbour, July 17.

"SIR,—Your Majesty's most affectionate letter of the 15th instant, from the Royal Lodge, has this moment reached me, and in consequence of another I have also received from the Duke of Wellington, as *the* Minister, I think it best to proceed without loss of time to see his Grace in town. I am fully aware I stand at *this* moment in two relations to your Majesty—the one *public*, the other *private*. I rejoice, as *brother*, the *affection* and *friendship* of *seven* and *fifty* years remain undiminished, and will, I know, *always continue* so. But the *duty* I owe my Sovereign is quite another thing, and until I have either convinced the Duke of Wellington that Sir George Cockburn has *materially erred*, or that I shall be obliged to tender my resignation to your Majesty, I will not by seeing your Majesty place my Sovereign in that situation where there might be a conflict in the mind of your Majesty between the feelings of a brother and the necessary support the *King* of *this* country *must* give to *his* Minister. I shall, however, make *one* observation to your Majesty, that Sir G. Cockburn *cannot* be the *most useful* and the *most important officer* in your Majesty's service, who *never* had the ships he commanded in *proper* fighting order.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your Majesty's most affectionate

"And most dutiful brother and subject,

"WILLIAM." [1]

[1] On the 16th, the Premier, in a long letter, again went into the whole case of the Duke's powers under his patent, and the statute, and his inability to act without his Council, and reiterated his opinion that Sir George would not have done his duty had he not acted as he had done. In this letter he enclosed an extract from the patent of the Lord High Admiral.—'Wellington Despatches,' vol. iv. 532-4.

The Duke of Wellington to the King.

"London, July 18, 1828.

"I have seen the Duke of Clarence twice this day; and in consequence of His Royal Highness still feeling very strong displeasure that Sir G. Cockburn should have written to him on the 10th instant, instead of waiting upon him, Sir George wrote His Royal Highness the letter of which I enclose a copy. His Royal Highness afterwards saw Sir G. Cockburn in my presence, and although I cannot with truth report to your Majesty that His Royal Highness sent away Sir George Cockburn, being entirely satisfied with him, I hope that the business of the Admiralty will hereafter be carried on as it ought to be, according to your Majesty's intentions, as manifested in the patent and the law.[1] WELLINGTON."

The Second Attempt.

How little effect the strong but kind letter of his royal brother and the plain speaking of the Premier had on the wayward disposition of the Duke of Clarence, was shown in a few days after the last escapade, when he hoisted his war-flag as Lord High Admiral with a squadron at Plymouth, before the Admiral appointed arrived, and kept it flying after his arrival. For this, it is almost needless to say, he had not

[1] Sir G. Cockburn, in a letter of this date, whilst adhering to his opinion, simply expressed his regret and absence of intention of displeasing the Duke in writing instead of waiting upon him. The Duke of Clarence (same date) wrote that he had had an explanation with the Duke, hoped to be still of use to His Majesty, and had returned to his duties of inspection at Portsmouth.—'Wellington Despatches,' vol. iv. 535.

In a letter of the 18th, Croker (Secretary to the Admiralty) reports an interview between the Duke of Clarence and Sir George, in which the Duke intimated that if he would retract, all would be well, and Sir George said that, whilst personally regretting having displeased him, as to the principle involved, that he must abide by, and could retract nothing of that kind.—'Wellington Despatches,' vol. iv. 537. The Duke to the King, vol. iv. 538.

authority from the King, and his Council had no previous knowledge of his intention. This repetition of the attempt to act independently, demanded immediate attention, and in consequence the Premier wrote on the 1st of August, to the King, enclosing a long correspondence with the Duke of Clarence—displaying as much weakness as instability on the part of the Duke of Clarence, and leading to his eventual resignation. To this letter the King replied without delay.

The King to the Duke of Wellington.

"Royal Lodge, Aug. 3, 1828.

"My dear Friend,—If the Lord High Admiral cannot make up his mind to fill his station according to the laws of his country, it will be impossible for the King to retain him in his present situation. It is very painful to my feelings, after all that has passed, that you should be placed in the disagreeable position of again explaining to my brother my sentiments, and consequently those of my Government, who are the responsible agents in this matter.

"No man understands discipline better than my brother, and I am, therefore, the more surprised at his hoisting his flag as Lord High Admiral without my orders."

In the correspondence that ensued, the Duke of Clarence declared that he "could not and would not submit to the previous concurrence of his Council on all points;" and that, "therefore, unless it was clearly understood beween the Premier and himself that he was in future to be the Judge, *except on matters of expense*, on which subjects he should consult the Council, he *must resign*." Apparently, however, to give a fair reason for delaying his resignation, he proposed to consult the Lord Chancellor on the terms of the patent, and that he hoped to confer personally with the King at the usual birthday dinner. Neither the King nor his Premier were disposed to wait. Hence, on the 11th of August, the latter enclosed to the Duke of Clarence the following decisive letter from the King.

"Royal Lodge, Aug. 11, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have read with the most careful attention your further correspondence with the Lord High Admiral. I will repeat to your Grace the words that I used to my brother when I had occasion to write to him on this painful subject, namely, 'that he was in error from the beginning to the end.'

"I now desire, distinctly, to state, once for all, that I most entirely approve of all that you, in the exercise of your bounden duty towards me, as my first Minister, have communicated to the Lord High Admiral on the subject now before me. When I appointed my brother to the station of Lord High Admiral, I had reasonably hoped that I should have derived comfort, peace, and tranquillity from such an appointment; but from what has hitherto taken place, it would seem as if the very reverse were to happen.

"Can the Lord High Admiral suppose that the laws are to be infringed, the rules of true discipline (which he knows so well how to uphold) are to be broken in upon? and that these things are to pass without notice or remonstrance by the responsible advisers of the Crown? Can the Lord High Admiral suppose that his best friend and his Sovereign is to have no feeling under such circumstances? I am quite aware that I am drawing fast to the close of my life; it may be the will of the Almighty that a month, a week, nay a day, may call the Lord High Admiral to be my successor.

"I love my brother William, I have always done so to my heart's core; and I will leave him the example of what the inherent duty of a King of this country really is. The Lord High Admiral shall strictly obey the laws enacted by Parliament, as attached to his present station, or I desire immediately to receive his resignation. Such are my commands to your Grace.

"Ever your sincere friend,

"G. R."[1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 595.

The reply seemed to still leave a *locus pœnitentiæ.*

The Duke of Clarence to the King.

"Bushey Lodge, Aug. 11, 1828.

"DEAREST BROTHER,—I have just received from the Duke of Wellington your most kind acceptance of my resignation of the office of Lord High Admiral, for which I thank you from the bottom of my heart. As the Sovereign, you could not have done otherwise, because the *King must support his Ministers.* I have my story and facts to relate whenever you will find time to give me an hour's interview. To-morrow is to me a day of peculiar joy and satisfaction, and long may I and all my fellow subjects celebrate the 12th of August as the natal day of the best of Sovereigns, and to me of the kindest and most affectionate of brothers and friends. At half past six to-morrow I shall pay my personal regards at the Royal Lodge, and then assure you that I am, must, and ever shall be,

"Dearest Brother,

"Yours most affectionately and unalterably,

"WILLIAM."[1]

As the King at the birthday dinner intimated to his brother that he did not consider his letter to the Premier as a positive resignation, on the 13th of Aug. the Duke of Clarence wrote a formal resignation, still placing the non-removal of Sir G. Cockburn as the cause, and taking no note of his escapades at Portsmouth and Plymouth. The same day the Premier replied requesting him to hold office till his successor could be appointed, and three days afterwards went over again in his letter the whole of the incidents of the affair, reiterating his opinion that Cockburn was only doing his duty, and adding,—

"I am certain that your Royal Highness is too just to feel any displeasure that I should have declined to recommend His Majesty that one of his servants be dismissed

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 506.

for an act which he considered it his duty to perform. I am not aware that Sir G. Cockburn has since that period done anything to incur your Royal Highness's displeasure; and I sincerely regret that under these circumstances I cannot be the person to recommend His Majesty that he should be removed." [1]

How the ex-Lord High Admiral bore his enforced resignation, at which he professed to feel delighted, is graphically told in the following letters of Mr. Croker to the Premier, from which some extracts only can be made.

On the 14th August, Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty, writes to the Duke that "the Duke of Clarence at the Council that day made us a speech under the influence of a good deal of ill-suppressed agitation, stating that he had resigned, and only carried on the business until another arrangement could be made. He said that he looked upon himself as a military officer, that if he were a civil officer like a First Lord of the Admiralty, he would have many observations to make on the cause of his resignation; but that in his military character he could only say that he had resigned, and would give no reason for it.

"He mixed his praise of me with violent complaints against others, and pointed clearly at Sir G. Cockburn; and when I was about to express my regret at what had happened, and particularly at the view he thus stated himself to have of the causes of it, he interrupted me (though not at all uncivilly) and put an end to our interview. He subsequently came into the Board Room and did business as if nothing had happened. At his first appearance he treated Sir G. C. with marked displeasure, but at the second interview he was more civil, and

[1] See letter of the Duke of Wellington to Sir R. Peel, Aug. 13 (vol. iv. 599); of the Duke of Clarence to the King (vol. iv. 601); and of the Premier to the King, of Aug. 18, enclosing the letter of resignation of Aug. 13 (vol. iv. 625–7).

charged Sir G. with some communications with the different departments."[1]

On the 16th of August Croker wrote to the Duke:—

"His Royal Highness had been so decisive in charging what had happened, as the result of a *personal* opposition on the part of Cockburn, that the latter felt it due to himself to cause the Duke of Clarence to be informed that he did not stand alone. He therefore told Captain Spencer yesterday, that he might acquaint the Duke that Sir G. Clerk, and Lord Brecknock and myself concurred in his principles, and would have felt it necessary to have gone out with him. This Captain Spencer told His Royal Highness on his arrival in town this morning, who immediately sent for Sir George, and told him he had not the least suspicion of this fact, that it made a great difference in his view, and that he had no longer any enmity against him, and begged to shake hands with him.

"His Royal Highness is apparently very ill, he is certainly in great pain, he thinks from gall stones—a disease which, though very painful, is not, I believe, at all dangerous. His Royal Highness is making very large promotions on going out, and I need hardly say that the shorter the interregnum is, the more convenient and agreeable it will be to all parties.

"P.S.—I ought to add that His Royal Highness said that he was delighted at being out of office; that nothing would induce him to return; that he looked upon the character of a *flag officer* of a fleet as a much higher one than that of Lord High Admiral. This, your Grace will see, was still harping on the pretension to independent *military authority*. His Royal Highness gives his conduct as many colours as the rainbow, but independent power was his real object.[2]

Though professing to be pleased at his removal, it is evident from subsequent letters that he tried to influence

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 602. [2] *Ibid*, p. 620.

the King to amend the patent, so as to give him independent power. With this object he sent Captain Spencer, his private Secretary, to the King with a letter from himself, who so far influenced the King by his explanation that the latter wrote to the Premier on the 22nd of Aug., enclosing his brother's letter, and wished him "not finally to make his arrangements until he saw him next." The Premier, however, was firm in refusing to amend the patent in this direction, and Lord Melville was appointed as First Lord of the Admiralty, and Canning's unwise proposal allowed to drop."[1]

How the Duke of Clarence at last quitted the Admiralty is amusingly told by Mr. Croker in the following letter.[2]

The Duke of Clarence Quits the Admiralty.

Croker to the Duke.

"Admiralty, Sept. 19, 1828.

"MY DEAR DUKE,—This is the last chapter of the history of His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral. He came to town to-day about eleven, with the intention (as we were told) of seeing us all and taking leave, but he only saw Lord Melville, Sir E. Owen, and Mr. Barrow;—Lord M. by appointment,

[1] See the *précis* of the conversation with Captain Spencer; the Duke of Wellington's to Lord Melville, Aug. 18; Duke of Clarence to the King, of same date; the Duke of Wellington to the King, of the 23rd of Aug., in which he goes again over the whole ground; the same to Lord Bathurst of Aug. 17, in which he reports the King's saying, "It is Captain Spencer, or rather Lady Spencer, who does all the mischief, and my poor brother is the victim;" and a letter of Peel's, Aug. 25, in which he states that in an interview on that day with the King, "he seemed uneasy at the Duke's retirement, and I supposed from his manner, the Duke wanted to return. He said, 'the Duke's resignation makes a great sensation. The navy takes it up, &c., &c. When does the Premier return to London? I signed the patent of Lord High Admiral, but I did not attend to it. The Duke of Clarence seems to think it gives him no more power than a member of the Board. If that is the case I certainly agree with him that he ought not to have accepted it.'"—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 588.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 65.

the two latter he sent for; and to Mr. Barrow he gave, with many high compliments, a very handsome silver inkstand adorned with His Royal Highness's and Mr. Barrow's crests and cyphers. This was intended, like His Royal Highness's great civility to me two months ago, to mark his displeasure at others. When he was so gracious to me, it was accompanied by innuendos against Cockburn, and now his kindness to Barrow is marked in the same way with allusions to me. The patent arrived about three o'clock, and I immediately sent Spencer to announce it, as Spencer had told that His Royal Highness had desired him to bring in the last paper for signature instead of me, whose natural duty it was to do so. His Royal Highness then again sent for Barrow and gave him the Cabinet key, which he had received from me, and which should have been returned to me. When five o'clock came, and that His Royal Highness showed that he did not intend to come into the Council room, or to send for us, Cockburn thought it respectful to send Spencer to His Royal Highness to say, that His Royal Highness not having sent for us, we did not wish to intrude upon him, but that we were all in attendance to pay our duty if he should think fit to admit us. To this, after a long pause, he replied through Spencer, that he felt towards Cockburn as he did when they had last met, but that as an interview could not but be painful, he would rather postpone it for the present, and he soon after set off for Bushey."

CHAPTER XII.—1828–1829.

The true Reason for the Removal of the Marquis of Anglesey from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.—The Duel with the Earl of Winchilsea.

The Duke and Lord Anglesey.

FEW incidents in the political career of the Duke have been more completely misrespresented than his treatment of Lord Anglesey in connection with the Marquis's position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In all popular histories of that period it has been attributed to the action regarding the letter of the Duke to his old Peninsular friend Dr. Curtis, who had been raised to the position of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Though this might have been one of the causes, it was by no means that which forced the Duke to assent to the repeated requests of the King for the recall of the Marquis. When the Marquis was appointed to the post, he professed to hold the same view of the Catholic question as the rest of the Cabinet—that their claims should be resisted. This opinion was rapidly altered by the revival of the agitation in their favour by O'Connell and his lieutenants. Hence his hesitation in interfering with their meetings at the outset, though repeatedly urged by the Premier;—his eventual publication, in Oct. 1828, of the Proclamation forbidding the meetings of the Catholic Association in his own name alone, and without the consent and signatures of his Council;—his non-official intercourse with several of the leading agitators;—the insinuations against the Government in his answers to addresses from their followers—"that his hands were tied, and that if he were free he would do all they wished;"—his declaration that he would not have accepted the position, and would afterwards have resigned it, but for the advice of Lord Holland and Sir John Newport;—his hesitation in urging

the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to remove two of the principal agitators from the Commission of the Peace;—his visit to Lord Cloncurry, a leading member of the Association, and that of his sons and his aide-de-camp to one of its meetings.[1]

All these, to say the least, injudicious acts would, however, have been overlooked had he not claimed the right to break the seal of private communications from the Premier, which dealt chiefly with the King's feelings on his acts, and had given rise to a well-grounded suspicion that the most important items in the Duke's letter were communicated to the leaders of the Catholic Association. Until this claim was set up, the Duke had resisted the repeated requests of the King for the recall of the Marquis, the first of which was made at a personal interview on the 5th of Aug. 1828.

On the 24th of December the Duke brought the whole of the painful correspondence that had taken place between himself and the Marquis, before the Cabinet, and with their unanimous approval submitted to the King the necessity for his recall, to which the King at once acceded. It was at this time that the Curtis correspondence had been made public, and Lord Anglesey had written to the Doctor approving of its publication. Hence, in ignorance at that time of all the previous difficulties, and especially of the conduct of the Marquis as to private letters, the public fixed on this as the reason of the recall. It was not until the publication in 1873, by the late Duke of Wellington, of his father's civil correspondence, that the real reason was revealed, and it was shown how considerate had been the Duke's conduct to his brother in arms until he claimed the right to do, what the Duke said "no gentleman could stand."

The following letter to the Duke of Cumberland tells the whole history.

[1] See the letters of the Duke to Mr. Peel of Aug. 6, 1828, and Peel's reply of the 7th; Peel's to the Duke of Aug. 16, and the Duke's to Peel of Aug. 26, in reply to one from Peel of the 24th, enclosing one from Lord Anglesey, relative to the current report that he was about to disband the Irish Yeomanry.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iv. 666.

The Reasons for Lord Anglesey's Recall.

To the Duke of Cumberland.

"Jan. 14, 1829.

"SIR,—Your Royal Highness will have heard of Lord Anglesey's recall from the Government of Ireland, of which you will have been anxious to know the cause from some good authority. You are aware, I believe, that for some time the King had not been pleased with his conduct; and his Majesty had more than once urged both Mr. Peel and me to recall him. But we both endeavoured to prevail upon the King to take more time to consider his conduct, which appeared to me to be founded upon a desire for popularity, rather than upon anything with which the King could find fault, and upon which his Majesty could found so strong a measure as his recall. I particularly defended him upon the occasion of the Proclamation in October, which he issued by his own authority, and signed alone, instead of issuing it by 'the Lord Lieutenant in Council,' and having it signed by the Privy Councillors present, as well as by the Lord Lieutenant.[1]

"The King, however, continued to be much displeased with him. At length, in November, I wrote to him upon the conduct of two magistrates who had behaved very improperly at Ennis, and whom he had omitted to strike out of

[1] *Sept.* 25, 1828.—"Letter from Lord Lieutenant that crisis imminent, and inclined to issue proclamation against the meetings which nominally take place for reconciling factions. The people come in great numbers, regimented with officers, dresses, and bands. *Sept.* 26.—Proclamation agreed to: Meetings to be prevented or dispersed, and Lord Lieutenant to send at once for troops from the west coast of England without waiting for orders from England—a fearful step, and may precipitate the crisis. Better to send troops at once: they and the proclamation should appear together. *Oct.* 8.—Proclamation well received."—Lord Ellenborough's 'Diary,' vol. i.

the Commission of the Peace, or rather to cause the Lord Chancellor to take that step respecting them.

"In this letter I at the same time imformed him how much his conduct displeased the King, and embarrassed me in all my communications with His Majesty respecting Ireland. He wrote me a very intemperate answer, to which I replied, and in my reply I observed to him that I should have been inexcusable if I had not imformed him in a private form of the impression which his conduct had made on the King; that I might be blamed for delaying the communication so long, but that I should deserve blame much more if I had not informed him at all. He wrote me another very intemperate answer, in which he told me, among other things, that although I called the communication private, I had the power of making it a public one, and that he should assume the same right. It must be observed that this communication turned almost exclusively upon the King's sentiments, and certainly was the subject, of all others, upon which the King's servants could correspond, which was of the most confidential nature.[1]

"After this letter I felt that I could no longer correspond confidentially with Lord Anglesey; and that, if this sort of relation was to continue, he or I must go out. However, still feeling strongly the inconvenience of removing him, I waited in hopes that time and reflection would have made him sensible of the unreasonableness of his conduct. But having waited a month, of which the first part of the time

[1] In speaking on this subject to Mr. Croker in 1829 the Duke said, "I have no doubt that he had made use of my letters as he had threatened. Could detect traces of them—of the knowledge of them in the speeches of the Association and the *Times*. You, not knowing what I had written, could, of course, see nothing of this, but when a person knows a train of circumstances, as I did, he can easily see whether another person speaking on the subject is aware of them, and I am convinced that the Catholic leaders had seen some of my private correspondence to the Lord Lieutenant."—Croker, vol. ii. 4.

for the reason above stated, and the last part for the assembly of the Cabinet, I took the King's pleasure upon his removal by the advice of my colleagues, and signified to Lord Anglesey that the King intended to relieve him, in a letter which I wrote him on the 28th of December, of which he acknowledged the receipt on the 30th of December.

"In the meantime I had written to Dr. Curtis, the titular Archbishop, the letter of the 11th of December, which your Royal Highness will have seen in the papers, in answer to one from him, which he has not published, in which he proposed a scheme for Roman Catholic Emancipation.[1] Lord Anglesey likewise wrote a letter to Dr. Curtis, dated the 23rd of December, which was published in the Irish newspapers on the 1st of January, that is, two days after the intention to relieve him had been announced to him. Your Royal Highness will have seen this letter likewise, and I think will not be surprised to learn that the King's servants have entirely disapproved of it, have recalled Lord Anglesey immediately, and have directed him to appoint Lords Justices for the conduct of the government."[2]

[1] Dr. Curtis suggested a quasi approval by the Government of the nominees of the Pope. The following was the Duke's reply of the 11th Dec.:—"I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness a settlement of the R. Catholic Question, which, by benefitting the State, would confer benefit upon every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of the difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy."—'Wellington Despatches,' vol. v. 326. This letter was published with the words *the* instead of *a* settlement, due, according to Dr. Curtis, to his having shown the letter to some friends, and allowed one to take a copy.—Vol. v. 375.—Dr. Curtis to the Duke.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 442.

Of the correspondence between the King, the Duke and Lord Anglesey, commenced in the preceding letter, some extracts must be given.

Though the Duke excused the act of Lord Anglesey in issuing the proclamation solely in his own name, he attributed it, no doubt, to the right cause—the Marquis's wish to show that he was acting without the support of the Protestant members of his Council. For the visit of himself and the Chancellor to Lord Cloncurry and his dilatoriness in not calling on the Chancellor to remove the agitators from the Magistracy, he found no excuse, and in consequence of the repeated requests from the King for the recall of the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke wrote to the King on the 14th of October, 1828, the following plain-speaking review of the dangerous position of affairs.

After urging the inconvenience of removing Lord Anglesey at such a moment, as it would be impossible to do without a sufficient reason to satisfy the public, and might be followed by measures of resistance to authority, and noting the impolitic suggestion of the King to call Lord Eldon into the Cabinet, and the evil results that would probably follow a sudden dissolution of Parliament, the Duke explains in very plain terms the difficulty of the situation:

"In the meantime it is desirable that your Majesty should look steadily at what is and what would be going forward. It is quite obvious that those who conduct the affairs of the Roman Catholics in Ireland do not propose to commit any breach of the peace, or other act which can occasion a conflict with your Majesty's troops. Everything is done by their leaders to excite hatred and contempt of the Government; and their influence over the people of all ranks of the Roman Catholic persuasion is unbounded. I do not suggest an impossible hypothesis, when I state the possibility (I might state it more strongly) of the Roman Catholic tenantry of the country refusing to pay tithes or rents. The clergy and landlords might have recourse to the law. But how is the law to be enforced? How can they distrain for rent or tithes millions of tenants? This measure will most

probably be of the first resistance and rebellion in Ireland, will occasion the ruin of all your Majesty's loyal subjects residing in that country, and of many in this; and it must be observed that it will give the rebellion a vast resource of money of which your Majesty's loyal subjects will have been deprived.

"I confess that my expectation that this measure of resistance and rebellion will be adopted, makes me very averse to involve those who will be its victims in the political discussions connected with the state of Ireland, which after all must be decided in Parliament. I would have them associate for the protection of their lives and properties; but they should leave political questions to be discussed in Parliament, considering the state of society existing in Ireland at the present moment, and the opinions prevailing in Parliament. The Act of 1793, the measure of the British Cabinet, gave power, that is, the right of voting, to the Irish Roman Catholics. The Irish gentlemen Protestants conceived that they could use that power for their own purposes; and in order to increase their own political influence have vastly multiplied the number of Roman Catholic voters. But the demagogues of the Roman Catholic Association have, by the influence of the priests over their flocks, taken that power out of their hands.

"The Irish gentlemen, therefore, have at present none of the influence which belongs to men of property in every well-regulated society, particularly in those countries under your Majesty's government. The influence of the priests directs everything.

"I will not here repeat what I have already submitted to your Majesty to show that there is no remedy for this state of things, excepting by means of a consideration of the whole state of Ireland. On no other ground will Parliament adopt what is necessary to be done; and I must here observe to your Majesty, that sooner or later we must come

to the same result, viz. a consideration of the whole state of Ireland, whether without a contest, or after a contest, after suffering the misery and distress which I have above described, and incurring great expense and running great risks.

"This is the real state of things which it is my painful duty to bring under your Majesty's view. I am aware of the pain which I give your Majesty by stating these facts; but I should not deserve your confidence if I did not state them, and entreat your Majesty to consider them coolly and dispassionately."[1]

No steps being taken against these agitators, on the 11th of Nov. the Duke wrote to Lord Anglesey expressing his disappointment, with respect to Steele and another agitator whose name is not given, "who held language to an officer commanding troops at Ennis, and in their presence, which," he writes, "to say the least, appears quite inconsistent with discretion and any sense of propriety; and which, if not indictable with the prospect of conviction and punishment, is such as ought to be brought distinctly under the notice of the Chancellor, with the object of striking them out of the Commission." Then, after alluding to Mr. Steele having called upon the people, "by their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Association," to abstain from rioting, the Duke thus proceeds to give the King's views and feelings on the case.

"I cannot express to you adequately the extent of the difficulties which these and other occurrences in Ireland create in all discussions with His Majesty. He feels that in Ireland the public peace is violated every day with impunity by those whose duty it is to preserve it; that a formidable conspiracy exists, and that the supposed principal conspirators—those whose language and conduct point them out as the avowed principal agitators of the country—are admitted to the presence of His Majesty's representative in

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 135.

Ireland, and equally well received with the King's most loyal subjects.

"I will not conceal from you, likewise, that your visit and those of my Lord Chancellor to Lord Cloncurry, and the attendance of Lord Cloncurry at the Catholic Association immediately subsequently to the period at which he had the honour of receiving the King's representative in his house, are not circumstances calculated to give satisfaction to the King and to the public in general. The doubts which are entertained respecting the legality of the Roman Catholic Association; the language which has been held there respecting the King himself, his Royal family, the members of his Government, your colleagues in office, and respecting nearly every respectable member of society, and the unanimously expressed detestation of the violence of the Association, might be deemed reasons for omitting to encourage any of its members by the countenance or favour of the King's representatives. But I assure you that the circumstances, which are the subject of this letter, augment the difficulties of the time to a degree which is quite incalculable, and have induced me most unwillingly to trouble you upon this subject." [1]

Lord Anglesey's reply was more ingenious than ingenuous.

"The language of the agitator at Ennis," he wrote, "was not indictable, and the conduct of the High Sheriff and magistrates, in bringing up troops to protect a meeting of a Brunswick club, even more indecorous—had no sufficient evidence, as yet, to urge the removal of the agitators from the bench—had only met O'Connell and Lawless in formal deputations, or in a crowded meeting at the Rotunda—did not know that Lord Cloncurry was a member of the Association, until he read his speech subsequently to his (Lord Anglesey's) visit to his house—that he believes that Lord

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 240–1.

Cloncurry went to that meeting to oppose a resolution for non-intercourse with Protestants, and that he is one of the best and most impartial magistrates in Ireland."

"It has never been the practice in Ireland" (replied the Duke) "to confine removals from the Commission of the Peace, to cases in which indictable offences have been committed—the utmost danger to the peace of the country might be the consequence of its being understood, that Justices of the Peace were immoveable—do what acts and hold what language they may, provided only that they steer clear of indictable offences."

As for the excuse raised in Lord Cloncurry's case, the Duke refers to the newspaper account that Lord Cloncurry had left the meeting before the obnoxious resolution was even proposed. Then giving his reasons for not mentioning the King's feelings until his letter of the 11th instant, he writes:—

"I was in hopes that in the progress of events the King might see reason to change his opinions, and because it is really very painful to notice matters which would be of a private nature if they had not a bearing upon public affairs. I might have, at an earlier period, expressed the pain I felt at the attendance of gentlemen of your household and even of your family at the Roman Catholic Association; I could not but feel that such attendance must expose your Government to misconstruction. But I was silent because it is painful to notice such things. But I have always felt that if these impressions upon the King's mind should remain—and I must say that recent transactions have given fresh cause for them—I could not avoid mentioning them to you in a private communication, to let you know the embarrassment which they occasion. I may be blamed for not communicating sooner that they existed; but considering their continued existence and the renewed cause for them, I

should be still more blamed if I did not mention them to you at all."[1]

The Duke without delay forwarded the correspondence to the King, from whom the following decided reply, dated the next day, was at once received.

The King on Lord Anglesey's Defence.

After approving of a reply which the Premier wrote on the 19th of Nov., in which he further enforced the advisability of removing Steele and the other magistrate from the Commission of the Peace, and showed that Lord Cloncurry left the meeting of the Roman Catholic Association before the boycotting resolution came on for discussion, the King said:—

"Your answer carries with it (as it appears to me) all that frankness, point, and at the same time *firmness*, which it ought to do; whilst on the other hand the Lord Lieutenant's letter is nothing but a proud and pompous farrago of the most *outrè* bombast, of eulogium on himself, his political principles, and his government of Ireland, and without (at least *materially*, according to the best of my recollection) answering or even alluding to any one of the *very essential points* which you so properly and so necessarily pressed upon him in your original letter, and which has called forth this most curious document, and specimen of pride, in the shape of a reply.

"*Consistency* and *firmness is*, and *must be, the only line for us to pursue;* if *he will not* take and understand the *very clear*, and at the same time liberal and *gentlemanly hint*, in its *tone* given to him by you in your former letter, I and *my Government must for ourselves; and he must be removed by us* as shortly as possible, but with all proper dignity on *our* part, accompanied by as much personal attention to himself as the

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 270–4.

nature of the case will admit; for if it required anything more than I have already stated, I am sure that it would betray the utmost folly and weakness in the Government could they be suffered for one instant to *fancy* to themselves, after being in possession of this most curious reply, and especially from the tone in which it is written, that *they* either could or that the *writer himself* would *ever submit to be interfered* with, or (*much less*) to be *guided* by them in any essential measure which the state of Ireland may, in *our opinion*, call for. At any rate, *cordial support you never can nor must expect* from the present Lord Lieutenant.[1]

"Ever your sincere friend,

"G. R.

"Nov. 20, 1828. 11.30 A.M."

Lord Anglesey's reply to the Duke's letter of the 19th was curt in the extreme. "The charges were mere repetitions," he said, "of what had been fully answered and confuted before, and the visit of some members of his staff and family to the Association was merely out of curiosity and in the hope that they would not be recognised. When they were recognised, and the visit mischievously commented on in the newspapers, orders had been given against their visiting political meetings of any class." Unfortunately the letter concluded with the assertion of the right to divulge the contents of private letters, which led to his recall, writes:—

[1] On the 21st the Duke wrote the following letter to Sir Robert Peel: "See O'Connell's speech in this night's *Courier*, in which he undertakes for Lord Cloncurry, who I believe was present, that he will be in the front of the battle in an attempt to resist by violence a law that may be passed; also his statement, by authority, that three applications have been made to the Pope for a concordation through the Hanoverian Minister" (vol. v. 276). The groundlessness of this assertion is exposed in the Duke's letter to the King of Nov. 25, and Count Munster's to the Duke, enclosing one from the Hanoverian Minister at Rome, of Jan. 15, 1829 (vol. v. 450).

'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 275. The italics are the King's own in all his letters.

"*I observe,*" writes Lord Anglesey, "*that you consider our late painful correspondence as private, yet the subjects are chiefly of a public character. You certainly have the power of considering it so or not; but I must reserve to myself the same liberty if it should hereafter become necessary for my justification, and I sincerely believe that I can justify every act.*" [1]

Immediately on the receipt of this unwarrantable claim, which the Duke said "no gentleman could bear," he forwarded the letter to the King on the 26th, with the following remark:—

"The continuance of this correspondence is quite useless, and is very unbecoming. It relates in a great degree to your Majesty's feelings on certain parts of his conduct, yet he declares his opinion that he has a right to make it public. Upon the whole, therefore, I am convinced that the best measure that I can adopt is to discontinue to write to his Excellency; and to see whether he will alter his measures in consequence of my suggestions." [2]

As no satisfactory change took place, the Duke, as he states in the next letter to the King, called a Cabinet Council as soon as possible, laid the whole painful correspondence before his colleagues, and with their unanimous consent forwarded the request for Lord Anglesey's removal, to which the King assented, and then communicated the decision to him on the 28th Dec.[3]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 280. [2] *Ibid.* p. 288.

[3] The Duke to the King, Dec. 25. The Duke to Lord Anglesey, Dec. 28. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 356–366. On the 26th Dec. the Duke wrote to Dr. Curtis, "that as he had thought proper to publish his letter, though without the Duke's permission, he might as well have published a correct copy of it" (vol. v. 358). The Doctor in reply appears to lay the blame of the inaccuracy on some friend whom he allowed to make a copy of it, on the promise of its non-publication. There can be little doubt that "the" was deliberately substituted for "a," and with that alteration sent to the newspapers.—See 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v.

The Duel with Lord Winchilsea.

In a letter to H. N. Coleridge, the Secretary of King's College, published in the *Standard*, March 16, 1829, Lord Winchilsea requested the withdrawal of his name from the list of subscribers, for the following reasons, deliberately accusing the Duke of Wellington of his having joined the project with the object of more easily concealing his intentions against the Church of England.

"I was one of those who, at first, thought the proposed plan might be practicable, and prove an antidote to the principles of the London University; I was not, however, very sanguine in my expectations, seeing many difficulties likely to arise in the execution of the suggested arrangements; and I confess that I felt rather doubtful as to the sincerity of the motives which had actuated some of the prime movers in this undertaking, when I considered that the noble Duke at the head of His Majesty's Government had been induced on this occasion *to assume a new character*, and *to step forward himself as the public advocate of religion and morality.* Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a *blind* to the Protestants and High Church party; that the noble Duke, who had for some time previous to that period determined upon 'breaking in upon the constitution of 1688,' might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State . . . . I must add also that the erection of King's College at the present time under the auspices of H. M.'s Government appears to me to be perfectly uncalled for. Ministers having informed the country that they have adopted, to their utmost extent, both the political and religious principles of those who have countenanced the establishment of the London University, they cannot possibly

wish to mar the designs they have now in contemplation, by establishing a college whose only distinction from the other was to be a strict adherence to those Protestant principles which they have now thought proper totally to abandon."[1]

Lord Winchilsea, to whom the Duke at once wrote, having acknowledged that the offensive letter was written and published by his authority, the Duke replied as follows on the 19th:—

"My Lord,—I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 18th instant. Your Lordship is certainly the best judge of the mode to be adopted of withdrawing your name from the list of subscribers to the King's College.

"In doing so, however, it does not appear necessary to impute to me, in no measured terms, disgraceful and criminal motives for my conduct in the part which I took in the establishment of the college. No man has a right, whether in public or in private, by speech, in writing, or in print, to insult another by attributing to him motives for his conduct, public or private, which disgrace or criminate him. If a gentleman commits such an act indiscreetly in the heat of debate, or in a moment of party violence, he is always ready to make reparation to him whom he may thus have injured. I am convinced that your Lordship will upon reflection be anxious to relieve yourself from the pain of having thus insulted a man who never injured or offended you."[2]

When called upon by Sir Henry Hardinge, on the Duke's behalf, Lord Winchilsea aggravated his offences by refusing to withdraw the offensive expressions unless the Duke would state that, at the time when he came forward to preside at the meeting for the establishment of King's College, he did not contemplate the measures which were now in progress for Roman Catholic emancipation, or, to use Mr. Peel's words, for "breaking in upon the constitution of 1688."

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 526. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 533.

"Sir H. Hardinge," wrote the Duke, "has read me a memorandum written by Lord Winchilsea, and delivered to him by Lord Falmouth, from which it appears that his Lordship is anxious that I should justify myself from the charges against me contained in his Lordship's address to Mr. Coleridge, published in the *Standard* newspaper. I may lament that a nobleman for whom I feel the highest respect should entertain a bad opinion of me. But I don't complain as long as that opinion is not brought before me. I cannot admit that any man has a right to call me before him, to justify myself from the charges which his fancy may suggest. That of which I complain is that the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham should have published an opinion that I was actuated by disgraceful and criminal motives in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago. His Lordship, unprovoked, has insulted me by stating in writing and authorising the publication of this opinion. For this insult I believed, and am not willing to part with the belief, that his Lordship will be anxious to give me reparation." [1]

Lord Winchilsea adhering to his reply, notwithstanding, it is believed, the remonstrance of Lord Falmouth, a meeting was fixed for Putney Heath, at 8 A.M., on Saturday the 21st, previously to which the Duke wrote the letter, from which I give the following extract:—

"'Since the insult, unprovoked on my part, and not denied by your Lordship, I have done everything in my power to induce your Lordship to make me reparation—but in vain. Instead of apologising for your own conduct, your Lordship has called upon me to explain mine. The question for me now to decide is this. Is a gentleman who happens to be the King's Minister to submit to be insulted by any gentleman who thinks proper to attribute to him disgraceful and criminal motives for his conduct as an individual? I cannot

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 534.

doubt of the decision which I ought to make on this question; your Lordship is alone responsible for the consequences. I now call upon your Lordship to give me that satisfaction for your conduct which a gentleman has a right to require, and which a gentleman never refuses to give.'[1]

"Late on the Friday night Lord Winchilsea wrote to Lord Falmouth, who had entirely disapproved of the publication of the letter, and was much pained at the whole affair. In this letter Lord Winchilsea declared that 'his friend had no knowledge of the letter until he saw it in the newspaper, nor of the unfortunate affair until he called on him on the previous afternoon. I also wish to add,' he wrote, 'that it is my determination not to fire on the Duke, and that after the first fire I shall offer the expression of regret which I shall then be ready to make.'

"On the ground, Dr. Hume, who attended at Sir Henry Hardinge's request, attempted to interpose. 'Surely, sir,' he said to Lord Falmouth, 'it might have been prevented? Could not you have prevented it? Is not Lord Winchilsea entirely to blame? As for the Duke, I know so well his discretion and temper in all great matters, that I am certain that he could never either say or do anything to offend or hurt any man's feelings whatever.' 'I don't say whose fault it is,' Lord Falmouth replied, 'but I assure you it cannot be settled without this meeting.'

"The pistols being loaded, Sir Henry, taking one under his arm, walked halfway between the parties, and taking a paper from his pocket, called on Lord Falmouth to come near him, and Lord Winchilsea to pay attention whilst he read it aloud. The purport of what Sir Henry said was 'that he took that opportunity of protesting in the strongest manner against the necessity of pushing this affair to the extremity to which it had been urged. He reminded and warned both Lord

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 537.

Falmouth and Lord Winchilsea that they alone must be answerable for the consequences which might result from this meeting; and,' said he, 'if I do not now express my opinion to your Lordship in the same terms of disgust I have done in the progress of this affair, it is because I wish to imitate the moderation of the Duke of Wellington.' After the protest had been read, Lord Winchilsea said something in a low voice, of which Dr. Hume heard only the words '*rather strong language.*' Lord Falmouth seemed much affected, and replied (I think with tears in his eyes), 'that nothing he had ever been concerned in had given him so much pain as the conduct he had found himself obliged to pursue upon this occasion; but although *he entirely disapproved of the publication of the letter, which, indeed was indefensible,* what he had done was unavoidable, and that when everything was over, he was confident even Sir Henry would do him justice.' He referred again to some paper he said he had sent to Sir Henry, and I think he again asked him if he had read it or seen it, to which Sir Henry replied, 'No,' and if I recollect right, he added, 'Indeed, my Lord Falmouth, I don't envy your feelings.' The arrangements then proceeded. The Duke raised his pistol and presented it instantly on the word 'Fire' being given; but I suppose, observing that Lord Winchilsea did not immediately present at him, he appeared to hesitate for a moment, and then fired without effect. I think Lord Winchilsea did not present his pistol at the Duke at all, but I cannot be positive, as I was wholly intent on observing the Duke, lest anything should happen to him; but when I turned my eyes towards Lord Winchilsea, after the Duke had fired, his arm was still down by his side, from whence he raised it deliberately, and holding the pistol perpendicularly over his head, he fired it off in the air.

"Lord Winchilsea then came forward and said that he now felt himself at liberty to give the Duke the reparation he required. 'The Duke,' said Sir Henry, 'expects an ample

"apology," and a complete and full acknowledgment from Lord Winchilsea of his error in having published the accusation against him.' 'I mean an apology in the most extensive or in every sense of the word,' replied Lord Falmouth, at the same time producing a paper, containing, as he said, an admission from Lord Winchilsea that he was wrong, and which, he added, was drawn up in the terms of the Duke's last memorandum. From the paper, however, the word '*apology*' was omitted, and only inscribed in pencil on Sir Henry saying 'that without it they must resume their ground.'

"On this being done, Sir Henry added, 'And now, gentlemen, without making any invidious reflections, I cannot help remarking that—whether wisely or unwisely the world will judge—you have been the cause of bringing this man (pointing to the Duke) into the field, where, during the whole course of a long military life, he never was before on an occasion of this nature.' The Duke came forward, bowing coldly to Lord Falmouth and Lord Winchilsea, the former of whom seemed greatly affected, and stated he had always thought and told Lord Winchilsea that he was completely in the wrong, on which Sir Henry remarked that, if he did so, and came with the writer of the letter to the ground, he had done that he (Sir Henry) would not do for the dearest friend he had in the world. On Lord Falmouth beginning to express his regret to the Duke, the Duke interrupted him, lifting up his hands and saying, 'My Lord Falmouth, I have nothing to do with these matters.' He then touched the brim of his hat with two fingers, saying, 'Good morning, my Lord Winchilsea; good morning, my Lord Falmouth,' and mounted his horse; and Sir Henry having also got on horseback and said, 'I wish you good morning, my Lords,' they rode quickly off the field.

"From his subsequent conversation with Dr. Hume before he and his principals left the Heath, it was clear that Lord Falmouth had done his best to persuade Lord Winchilsea to

make the proper apology, and that had he not been assured that Lord Winchilsea would not fire at the Duke, would even at the last have refused to attend him to the ground."[1]

To his friend the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke wrote the following defence of his own conduct:—

"London, April 21, 1829.

"My dear Duke,—The truth is that the duel with Lord Winchilsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was as necessary to undertake it and carry it to the extremity to which I did carry it, as it was to do everything else which I did do to attain the object which I had in view. I was living here for some time in an atmosphere of calumny. I could do nothing that was not misrepresented as having some base purpose in view. If my physician called upon me, it was for treasonable purposes. If I said a word, whether in Parliament or elsewhere, it was misrepresented for the purpose of fixing upon me some gross delusion or falsehood. Even my conversations with the King were repeated, misrepresented, and commented upon, and all for the purpose of shaking the credit which the

[1] The narrative of Dr. Hume sent to the Duchess of Wellington, March 21. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 538–45. The apology as initialled by Dr. Hume was as follows:—"Having given the Duke of Wellington the usual satisfaction for the affront he conceived himself to have received from me through my public letter of Monday last, and having thus placed myself in a different situation from that in which I stood when his Grace communicated with me, through Sir H. Hardinge and Lord Falmouth, on the subject of that letter before the meeting took place, I do not now hesitate to declare of my own accord that $\left\{\frac{\text{in apology}}{\text{J. R. H.}}\right\}$ I regret having unadvisedly published an opinion which the noble Duke states in his memorandum of yesterday to have charged him with 'disgraceful and criminal motives in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago.' I also declare that I shall cause this expression of regret to be inserted in the *Standard* newspaper, as the same channel through which the letter in question was given to the public. J. R. Hume."

public were inclined to give to what I said. The Courts of Justice were shut, and not to open till May. I knew that the Bill must pass or be lost before the 15th of April.

"In this state of things Lord Winchilsea published his furious letter. I immediately perceived the advantage it gave me, and I determined to act upon it in such a tone as would certainly put me in the right. Not only was I successful in the execution of my project, but the project itself produced the effect which I looked for and intended that it should produce. The atmosphere of calumny in which I had been for some time living cleared away. The system of calumny was discontinued. Men were ashamed of repeating what had been told to them; and I have reason to believe, moreover, that intentions not short of criminal were given up in consequence of remonstrances from some of the most prudent of the party, who came forward in consequence of the duel. I am afraid that the event itself shocked many good men.[1] But I am certain that the public interests at the moment required that I should do what I did."[2]

[1] Among the good men who took the Duke to task for thus acting was the venerable Jeremy Bentham, two of whose letters are given in the 5th volume of 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series. In the first of these, addressed "Ill-Advised Man," Bentham writes, "Think of the confusion into which the whole fabric of government would have been thrown had you been killed, or had the trial of you for the murder of another man been substituted in the House of Lords to the passing of the Emancipation Bill. Now then, if to personal and physical you add moral courage, I will tell you what to do. Go to the House of Lords; stand up there in your place, confess your error, declare your repentance, say you have violated your duty to your Sovereign and your country, and promise that on no future occasion whatsoever, under no provocation whatsoever, in either character—that of giver or that of accepter of a challenge—will you repeat the offence." The Duke's reply was, "Compliments. The Duke has received this letter."—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 546.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 526–7, 585.

CHAPTER XIII.—1820–1829.

The Progress of the Duke's Opinions on Roman Catholic Emancipation—The Conduct of the King during the Progress of the Relief Bill—The Duke and Peel.

The Duke and Catholic Emancipation.—1820–1829.

THE Duke's connection with this question as a Cabinet Minister commences with his acceptance of the position as Master-General of the Ordnance in the Cabinet of Lord Liverpool in 1820. In this Cabinet, according to a memorandum prepared by the Duke for the King, but not presented to him, the following was the understanding:—

"Every individual member in the Cabinet is at liberty to take such line as he may think proper in Parliament, whether in debate or by his vote, on the question of further concessions to the Roman Catholics; but he speaks and votes upon this question as an individual, and not on the part of the Government.

"Every individual member of the Cabinet is at liberty to propose for the consideration of the Cabinet such measures upon this subject as he may think proper.

"A sound discretion must be exercised upon this subject. Each individual must feel, *first*, that the existing Administration was not formed with a view to carry out what is called the Catholic question; *secondly*, that to propose in the Cabinet measures which have for their object further concessions to the Roman Catholics may create want of confidence and disunion among colleagues; and *thirdly*, that

the repeated renewals of the discussions of this question in Parliament, and particularly if brought forward by a Minister, although in his individual capacity, may lead to the disunion of the Houses of Parliament, than which a greater misfortune could not occur.

"These considerations are calculated to influence the discretion of a member of a Cabinet, and might induce him to avoid proposing measures for public concession to the Roman Catholics, although he would find himself under the necessity of voting for such measures when proposed by others.

"In the meantime the government of the United Kingdom must be conducted impartially on the principles of the existing laws; and all questions affecting the government of Ireland must be considered by the Cabinet at large on their own grounds, of which no member of the Cabinet can entertain a doubt." [1]

According to a memorandum of this date, the Duke's first idea of Roman Catholic Relief was to make the Roman Church in Ireland strictly a missionary one, under Bishops in Partibus or vicars apostolic, to be named by the Pope from lists formed by election under the inspection of the Government—reducing the list to two names, of which the Pope must name one; the number and nature of the powers of these officials, and the salaries and parishes of the priests to be be specified in the arrangements and the mode of communication with the Pope. This arrangement to be recognised by Parliament. If the Pope refused this offer, then no State-paid clergy.

[1] 'Wellington Letters,' &c., 2nd series, vol. iii. 462–3. "Catholic emancipation," said Canning, was an open question, "upon the principle of treating it as a question out of the ordinary course of Ministerial business; as one to be argued on its own merits, such as they might appear to each individual member of the Administration."—'Hansard,' vol. xv. Col. 1375. In this year the repeal of disabilities, with a State provision for the clergy, was carried in the Commons, but defeated in the Lords.

During the Administrations of Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning the question remained an open one, and the attempts in its favour were limited to resolutions in the Commons carried by small majorities, but uniformly rejected by the House of Lords. On the defeat of the last of these resolutions in the House of Lords, such admissions were made by Lord Eldon and the Premier that Lord Lansdowne observed, "It almost necessarily followed that it is the intention of Ministers of looking at this difficulty with a view to its final arrangement." When, on the 5th of July, 1828, O'Connell was elected for the county of Clare, and the session closed on the 28th without any step being taken in consequence, it was felt that the question could not remain any longer an open one. During the autumn, the Duke, feeling that the time had come, directed his efforts to persuading the King to allow it to be dealt with as a Cabinet question, and in November forwarded to him his first sketch of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill.

First Proposals for Catholic Relief Bill sent to the King.

To the King.

"Nov. 16, 1828.

"I heretofore submitted to your Majesty the reasons which induced me to think that it was necessary that your Majesty should allow your Government to take into consideration the whole state of Ireland. Circumstances which have since occurred have rendered it still more urgent to consider this subject.

"On the one hand, the state of society in Ireland is daily becoming worse. In the south the worst evils, excepting actual war, exist. Combinations have been formed to resist the payment of rent and tithes to members of the Brunswick Clubs, in which description is included nearly every Protestant of the Church of England residing in the country, and to bind the Roman Catholics not to deal with members of the Brunswick Clubs as shopkeepers, &c. There is a case reported to the Secretary of State, of a gentleman, a

member of a Brunswick Club, whose estate is let at will to certain Roman Catholic tenants. They have all thrown up their farms. There are instances of Roman Catholic labourers in the country having refused to work for their employers, members of the Brunswick Clubs, leaving their agricultural property at this season of the year exposed to the weather and, of course, to ruin. There are cases reported of Protestants not daring to move one hundred yards from their houses; and from my own knowledge I can assure your Majesty that respectable men, such as retired officers of the army, and officers on half pay, are quitting Ireland, as they consider it a country not in a state of civilisation. Your Majesty will observe that none of these evils can be remedied by the positive enactments of law. On the other hand, nearly all the speakers in the Brunswick Clubs, in England as well as in Ireland, the public in general, look to some arrangement of the Roman Catholic question to be proposed by the Government. Even Lord Winchelsea has written to me that he will agree to such a one. Many in Ireland are prepared to go as far in the way of concession as the Roman Catholics themselves can desire. I am quite certain that no Minister can advise your Majesty not to take into consideration the state of Ireland. The questions, then, are these:—Can that subject be taken into consideration? Can any measure be proposed from which any effect can be expected in which a consideration of the Roman Catholic question is not included? and must not the concession of seats in Parliament be among those measures? I earnestly entreat your Majesty's dispassionate consideration of these questions, and of the plan submitted in the enclosed paper.

"I submit it with a firm conviction on my mind that if what is therein proposed is carried, the Roman Catholic affairs of the Empire will be put upon a better footing than they have been since the Reformation, and

that the State will acquire strength by the arrangement. This arrangement may be attended by any others which the preservation of the peace of the country may render necessary. Before your Majesty shall decide that you will not take these questions into consideration, and that you will not adopt this plan, I entreat you to allow me to lay it before the heads of the church—I mean the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Lincoln, Chester, and Oxford. I will not pretend to foretell the consequences which will attend the determination to do nothing on this subject, to your Majesty's Government, to the peace of the country, or to the interests particularly of your Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland. But I must submit this fact. Your Majesty now has the question in your hands. If concession of seats in Parliament is made, your Majesty may attach to that concession any condition or arrangement that your Majesty may think proper. Nobody can answer for the consequences of delay."

The Heads of the Proposal.

"(1.) To repeal the clause in the Irish Act (33 Geo. III. cap. 21, clause 9) which disables Roman Catholics from holding certain offices, with the exceptions hereafter mentioned (those of which the holders have by virtue of their office the disposal of Church patronage). Roman Catholics to be enabled to hold office upon taking the oaths prescribed in 13 & 14 Geo. III. cap. 35, and clause 7 of 33 Geo. III. cap. 21—both Irish.

"(2.) The clause in the Act of Union requiring members of Parliament to take the oath of supremacy and make and subscribe the declaration against Transubstantiation to be suspended for one year, for all members who shall take the above-mentioned oaths.

Corresponding regulations for Roman Catholics in Ireland.

"(3.) Voters in any county, city, or town in Ireland to be confined to persons paying £5 per annum to the parish, barony, or county session, or all three for any freehold.

"(4.) A grant to be made to enable your Majesty to make such a provision as you may think proper for the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland.[1]

"(5.) Royal license to be required for the exercise of ecclesiastical functions in the United Kingdom.

"(6.) Any person exercising these functions without license to be liable to be found guilty of a misdemeanour and fined for the first offence; fined and imprisoned for the second; and for the third sent out of His Majesty's dominions.

"(7.) All Roman Catholic ecclesiastics receiving any stipend from the Crown, or licensed by His Majesty, are to be required to take the oaths of the 14th & 33rd Geo. III.; and further, an oath to be framed declaring that they will not assume any title, pre-eminence, or authority within His Majesty's dominions, nor exercise any authority not conceded to them by the laws of the land.

"Members of Parliament to take the oaths in the Acts of the years 1774 and 1793. Numbers of Roman Catholic members not to be limited as long as the numbers of Church of England men and Dissenters are unlimited.

"Query whether not better to entirely disqualify the forty-shilling freeholders instead of limiting them as proposed.

"Grant for payment of priests to be exclusive of fees now received by them for services, but provided, if possible, from the resources of Ireland.

"(8.) Increase of convents to be prevented, and admissions

[1] The idea of paying the Roman Catholic priests, and thus binding them to the State, was regarded by Lord Grenville as absolutely necessary to prevent their further agitation, but found to be impossible from the strong feeling against the endowment by the Protestants of Great Britain. The proposal was renewed to Earl Grey by William IV., and admitted by him to be good policy, but again more than ever impossible.

into existing ones regulated. Stipends to Roman Catholic clergy in England not required."[1]

The King's reply was eminently cautious:—

"My dear friend," he wrote, "I am unable to use my pen myself, I can therefore only dictate. I have no objection to your sending the paper to the bishops; but then let it be under your own authority and not from my recommendation, as the only means of avoiding all comments with respect to myself. I also think that Mr. Peel should see the paper, as well as your letter to me; but all this must proceed from yourself. I consider your paper very able; but on the point in question I need not tell you what my feelings are.[2]

"Your sincere friend,
"G. R."

No further communication appears to have come from the King before the close of the year, and the communications with the bishops were eminently unsatisfactory. Peel again, early in the new year (1829), urged on the Duke the advisability of his own retirement. Though he agreed that the question could no longer be kept an open one in the Cabinet, his opposition he felt had been so uniform during his

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 252–68.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 268.

To judge from the following passage in his Memorial to Mr. Pitt on the state of Ireland, Feb. 8, 1797, his feelings as Prince of Wales were then very different to those which he now professed to entertain.

After alluding to the prevalent disaffection and the temptation which Catholic disabilities then held out to Catholics to join the Republican party, the Prince thus wrote: "Without also entering into the policy of withholding or refusing these concessions on former occasions, I shall only say, that circumstances may render it prudent to grant at one time what has been refused at another; and that without any inconsistency, and without any retrospect of what is past, I feel myself called upon to declare *my decided opinion that no time ought to be lost in repealing every exclusive restriction and disqualification on the Irish Roman Catholics.*"—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 401. The italics are the Prince's. He was then a Foxite.

whole political life, that he thought that he could not with usefulness and credit take charge of any such Bill in the Commons.

In conclusion he left it to the Duke to decide, and if he felt an insuperable objection to the course which he himself believed to be least open to objection, he said, "In that case you shall command every service that I can render in any capacity."

With this letter Peel sent a most able memorandum, in which he summed up the evils of the existing system of treating the Catholic question as an open one, and urged on His Majesty the same policy as the Duke had recommended in the previous November.

Peel having consented to remain, and those members of the Cabinet hitherto most opposed to the concession having in personal interviews with the King urged on him the advisability of allowing the Cabinet, as a Cabinet, to consider the whole state of Ireland, the following minute, written by the Lord Chancellor and approved by the King, was received:—

"Windsor Castle, Jan. 26, 1829.

"The King has considered the representations made to him by such of the members of his Cabinet as have been generally adverse to the concession of further political power to the King's Roman Catholic subjects. It has been earnestly pressed upon the King, as a measure not merely expedient but necessary, that the King's Cabinet should take into its immediate consideration the whole state of Ireland, and particularly with a view of preparing measures for the suppression of the Roman Catholic Association, of altering the law respecting the elective franchise in that part of the United Kingdom, and of proposing such arrangements relative to the existing disabilities of the King's Roman Catholic subjects as may lead to a final settlement of that difficult question. The King attending to the representations that have been so made to him, and the reasoning by which they have been supported, acquiesces in what has been thus strongly recommended; *but without in*

any degree pledging himself to the approval or adoption of the measures that may be proposed as the result of the deliberations" of his Cabinet.[1]

It was not without an object that in this cautious minute the King arranged the measures to be considered in the following order:—The suppression of the Catholic Association, *first*—the alteration of the franchise, *second*—and the repeal of Catholic disabilities *last*. Of this, to judge from a memorandum given in the 'Despatches' without date, he afterwards tried to take advantage, when it was admitted that without the promised concessions the Bill for suppressing the Association would not have passed.

The session opened Feb. 5, 1829, when it was, on the vote for the Address, explained in both Houses of Parliament that the measure which the Government intended to propose would extend to the removal of all civil disabilities under which the Roman Catholics laboured, with exceptions solely resting on special grounds.

Under this assurance, the Bill for the suppression of the Roman Catholic Association passed rapidly through both Houses,[2] and on the 3rd of March Mr. Peel, now returned for Westbury, after his defeat at Oxford, gave notice that on the 5th he would introduce the Catholic Relief Bill. In the interval of his absence from the House of Commons the Duke had many serious difficulties to overcome with the King, instigated as the monarch was by his brother of Cumberland and Lord Eldon to throw every impediment in the way of the introduction of that measure. In connection with this portion of the struggle, we find the following correspondence between the Premier and the King towards the close of February, with reference to the hostile influence which was being used over members of the Royal Household.

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 470.

[2] The Bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association was brought in by Mr. Peel, Feb. 12, and passed in the Commons on Feb. 17. Read first time in the Lords Feb. 19, and passed with only verbal amendments Feb. 19. On Feb. 12 the Catholic Association had voted their own dissolution. On Feb. 28 Peel was defeated for the University of Oxford by Sir R. H. Inglis by a majority of 146. A vacancy was at once made for him at Westbury.

To the King.

"Feb. 25, 1829, at night.

"I submit to your Majesty that I should attend your Majesty on Friday instead of Monday, with the schedule of the measures intended by your Majesty's servants to be proposed to Parliament, which I trust that your Majesty will find consistent with what I stated to your Majesty and with your Majesty's speech delivered by the Lords Commissioners. In the meantime, adverting to what your Majesty said to me this day, I entreat your Majesty not to allow any person whatever to talk to the officers of your Majesty's household upon this subject. In consequence of your Majesty's speech expectations have been excited in Ireland; and the tranquillity of that country is involved in the decision of the great question about to be submitted to the consideration of Parliament. The honest reputation of every individual in your Majesty's Councils is likewise at stake; and I beg your Majesty not to believe that it is possible for the Government to go on unless this question is fairly brought forward and persevered in."

To the King.

"Feb. 27, 1829.

(*After the interview at which the schedule was considered by the King.*)

"I cannot go to rest without expressing to your Majesty the gratitude which I feel for your Majesty's gracious kindness and condescension in the whole course of the painful discussion which it was my misfortune to have with your Majesty this day. I assure your Majesty that nothing could have induced me to give your Majesty the pain which I cannot but feel that I gave you, excepting the strongest sense of the magnitude of the interests involved in the questions under your Majesty's consideration. However, my sense of gratitude for your Majesty's gracious

kindness will never be effaced from my mind, and will be an additional inducement to make every effort in my power to guard those interests which your Majesty has so much at heart."[1]

How the King's brother tried to frighten the Duke is seen from the following letter:—

The Duke of Cumberland and the Duke.

"St. James's Palace, Feb. 29. 1 P.M.

"MY DEAR DUKE,—I am but this moment arrived in town, and therefore after the hour appointed to be with you. A doubt has risen in my mind, while driving up to town, which I wish to express to you before I call, namely, as to the propriety of my doing so. What I mean by this is, that it is utterly impossible either that I should call on you, or you on me, without its being known; and in the present state of things I should feel considerable difficulty in not explaining to some of my friends what passed at such a meeting; for I must do nothing that can give unbrage to any of them, and my character must stand clear before them all, that they may say that I have acted honourably; therefore, if you have no objection to my communicating to Lord Eldon and some few friends what passes at such a meeting, I shall call at any hour you will now appoint."[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 509–11.

[2] On Feb. 2 the Duke had taken the opportunity of Sir W. Knighton going, on the King's private affairs, to Berlin to write to the Duke of Cumberland about the proposed measure of Catholic Relief, and to advise him, especially as a possible heir to the throne, to postpone his proposed visit to England, as he might be tempted to allow himself to be put forward as a leader of the Anti-Catholics, and "be left to be responsible for all the violence of others." This letter was crossed by one dated Feb. 4 from the Royal Duke, a reply to that from the Premier giving the reasons for the recall of Lord Anglesey, admitting the Premier's "herculean task," and promising him his aid, and announcing his intention to come over without delay and attend his duty in the House of Lords, "previous to which I shall not fail to call upon you in town to

The Duke's Reply.

"2.30 P.M.

"I assure your Royal Highness that I have nothing to talk to your Royal Highness upon, respecting which I care whether it is stated to the whole world. I have no business to transact excepting His Majesty's, and I do not care who knows what I say or do in the transaction of that business."

After the interview, in which of course nothing passed of consequence, and which the Duke reported to the King on the same day, he again urged the King not to allow his brother to talk to the household, as was reported, and enclosed a circular to them requiring in His Majesty's name their attendance in Parliament during the discussion of the proposed measures.

In a letter of the date of 2nd March, 1829, the Duke, after reporting that he had communicated the King's commands to his servants, writes very plainly in condemnation of the King's attempt to separate the measures, as he had suggested in his memorandum before referred to, and claims the support of his authority and influence to enable the Cabinet to carry out their promises. The effect of this plain speaking was a brief note from the King (11 A.M. March 3) promising to reply "as soon as he could collect his thoughts sufficiently to put them on paper"—an evident attempt to gain time and consult with the opponents of the Ministry.

To gain further time, on the evening of the same day, he wrote requesting to see the Duke, the Chancellor and Mr. Peel. The subsequent interview was of a most protracted and angry character, lasting five hours, during which the King insisted that no alteration should be made in the oath of supremacy, and the Ministers insisting with equal firmness that without this alteration the proposed measures would be useless. The result was that the Ministers tendered their

learn what your plans are."—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 482–5. And see letter to Sir J. Scarlett, July 27, 1829, about "a personage in England who has little to fear, and nothing to lose, who possesses the means of mischief, who is very hostile to the Government, very bitter and active, who misleads the editors of newspapers by the communication, as from authority, of falsehoods and calumnies."—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 51.

resignation, which was received by the King with affected composure, many expressions of kindness, a salute to each of them on each cheek, and an expression of sincere regret in parting with their services. Within a few hours all was changed. He had found that his brother and Lord Eldon were incapable of forming a Cabinet, and at eight that evening the following letter was written to the Duke.[1]

The King to the Duke.

"Wednesday evening, March 4. 8 o'clock.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—As I find the country would be left without an Administration, I have decided to yield my opinion to *that* which is considered by the Cabinet to be for the immediate interests of the country. Under these circumstances you have my consent to proceed as you propose with the measure. God knows what pain it costs me to write these words.[2]

"G. R."

[1] The following is Lord Ellenborough's account of this interview: "March 4. The Duke, Peel, and the Chancellor returned from Windsor. Result of interview that Peel would to-morrow declare he could not bring on the Relief Bill, as he was no longer Minister. The King talked for six hours: never witnessed a more painful scene. He was so evidently insane. Had taken brandy and water before he joined them, and sent for some more, which he continued to drink during the conference. During six hours they did not speak fifteen minutes. The King objected to every part of the Bill—would not hear of it. The Duke earnestly entreated him to avoid all reference to the Coronation Oath. The King at one time talked of postponing the consideration of the Bill until he had seen the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; but gave up the idea. It seems he does not know what the Coronation Oath is. The Duke saw Knighton afterwards, who said that the King was in a deplorable state, and declared he had not a friend in the world. The Duke's idea is that he may be sent for on Tuesday on their finding that they cannot form a Government, and that such is the King's expectation, but that he wishes to obtain popularity and seem to be forced. It is impossible not to feel the most perfect contempt for the King's conduct. We should be justified in declaring we will have no further intercourse with one who has not treated us like a gentleman."—'Diary,' vol. i.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 518.

Under March 9, Lord Ellenborough makes the following pungent

Not satisfied, the Duke replied:—

"March 4. Midnight.

"I have just received your Majesty's most gracious letter of 8 P.M., and I assure your Majesty that I sincerely lament the necessity which exists for urging your Majesty to sanction measures the adoption of which appears to occasion to your Majesty so much pain. Mr. Peel will proceed with the Bills to-morrow, in the full confidence and with the full understanding that your Majesty's servants have your sanction and support, and that your Majesty will go through with us. I entreat your Majesty to give your gracious approbation to my letter of the 2nd instant, containing the minute of the Cabinet, or to inform me if my understanding of your Majesty's letter of this afternoon is not correct."

The King's Reply.

"Thursday morning, 7.15, March 5. From my bed.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am awakened by the messenger with your letter, and as I know that you are much pressed for time, I send him off again immediately. *You have put the right construction upon the meaning of my letter of last evening;* but at the same time I cannot disguise from you that my feelings of distress in consequence are such as I do scarcely know how to support myself under them.

"G. R."

Peel still doubted the King, and wanted the Duke to ask

---

entry: "Duke's report of Knighton's account of what happened after Ministers left on the 4th, that he was trying it on, where the Conynghams and every one else told him that another Cabinet was hopeless—he, after a little hesitation, at 9.30 wrote the letter which he dated 8 P.M., and which the Duke received in bed and replied to at once, without communication with any one, and without keeping a copy. After all the excitement the King sat down to dinner at 10, and was as gay as ever. When the King began to tell Knighton what had passed, Knighton thought he had better get it from Ministers than from the King (would not believe him)."—'Diary,' vol. i.

him to write "Approved" upon the Duke's letter of the 4th. "I still think," Peel writes to the Duke, "that the King's letter is meant to reserve the power of a veto on the measure if he finds it practicable.[1]

On the 5th of March the Bill was introduced in the Commons, and carried on the 30th by a majority of 178 votes, and introduced into the House of Lords on the 4th of April.

"My Lords," said the Duke on moving the second reading, "I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this—that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life to do it. I say there is nothing which destroys property and prosperity, and demoralizes character, to the degree civil war does; by it the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays his master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and devastation. Yet, my Lords, this is the resource to which we must have looked—these are the means to which we must have applied, in order to put an end to this state of things, if we had not made the option of bringing forward measures for which I hold myself responsible."

Even after the Bill had passed both Houses of Parliament, the King appeared to hesitate to give his assent to it; but it was all acting. According to Mr. C. Greville, "by such a well-feigned passion and talk of abdication that the Duke of Clarence might reign as a Liberal King, that Lord Eldon actually believed that at the last moment he would refuse his assent." The Duke, however, was peremptory and not to be deceived by words. On the 13th of April, therefore, the King yielded and the royal assent was at length given.

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 516–19.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Duke's Difficulties with the King's Temper—The Intrigual of the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Lieven—The Duke and the Polignac Cabinet—Political Difficulties after passing the Catholic Relief Bill—The Death of George IV.

The Duke's Difficulties with the King's Temper. The King and Mr. Denman, 1829.

In his speech for the defence in the Queen's trial, Denman, at the suggestion of the coarse-minded Dr. Parr, introduced a loathsome Greek quotation of a reputed reply of the maid-servant of Octavia, Nero's murdered wife, which, if it had any personal application, undoubtedly imputed to the King the most disgusting of crimes. The King felt this so bitterly that he declared that "no consideration should ever induce him to admit that individual into his presence." In Nov. 1829, the Recorder of London (Mr. Knowles) was too unwell to present the usual report of the Old Bailey sentences, and it was accordingly proposed by the Duke that the next legal official of the Corporation—the Common Sergeant (Mr. Denman)—should act in his place. At this suggestion the King took offence.

"I must express to you my extreme surprise, my dear Duke," he wrote on the 9th Nov., "that you should suggest to me that I should either decline to receive the Recorder's report to-morrow, or submit to the indignity of receiving the Common Sergeant to fulfil the duties of the Recorder upon the occasion, when you cannot fail to know the insult which I have received from that individual; and you ought to know the firmness of my character in not

bearing an insult from any human being with impunity. A provision has long since been made for the fulfilment of the Recorder's duties, in the event of his indisposition, in the appointment of Mr. Sergeant Arabin as Deputy Recorder for that express purpose; and I desire that he should attend in that capacity to-morrow rather than defer the report, he having already officiated in that character. I must express a hope that this will be the last time that I shall be troubled relative to Mr. —— [Denman], as no consideration will ever induce me to admit that individual into my presence."

In consequence of this letter the Duke had an interview with the King, the nature of which he describes to Sir W. Knighton in the following letter:—

"Nov. 10, 1829.

"My dear Sir William,—I saw the King, and had a very distressing scene with him. It ended by his approving of the act of his Ministers of last night, and his determining that he would hear no report till the Recorder should be well enough to make it. His Majesty did not mention your name, and I did not tell him that I had seen you.

"If I had known in Jan. 1828, one tithe of what I do now, and of what I discovered one month after I was in office, I should never have been the King's Minister, and should have avoided loads of misery! However, I trust that God Almighty will soon determine that I have been sufficiently punished for my sins, and will relieve me from the unhappy lot which has befallen me! I believe there never was a man suffered so much and for so little purpose!" [1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 293–4. In another case, that of Mr. Peter Comyn, a gentleman of property in Clare, who had been convicted of trying, by perjury and forgery, to prevent his landlord from taking possession of his own house, and had set fire to it, and then accused three innocent persons of the crime, the King, without any previous communication with his Ministers, had written direct to the Lord Lieutenant to mitigate the punishment of death, on the petition of respectable inhabitants of the county. Apparently this had been done by

Nash's Baronetcy, 1829.

Among the difficulties with the King with which the Duke had to contend, was the former's anxiety that his favourite architect, Mr. Nash, of Buckingham Palace notoriety, should be raised to the baronetcy. At this moment his case in connection with his being a lessee of the Crown land and having been, as the Crown's architect and surveyor, called upon to value and report upon the buildings erected on it, had only been lately under the consideration of the House of Commons, and the report of its Committee only went so far as not to impute fraud to him.

"My dear Friend" (wrote the King to the Duke on the 14th of June 1829), "I now write to you upon a matter in which I feel very much interested. The report of the Committee of the House of Commons upon Mr. Nash's business has been delivered in, and as I am informed by one of that Committee (not one of those who had any previous predilection towards him) '*without the slightest stain or imputation upon or against his character.*' I do therefore desire that you will direct his being *gazetted by himself* on *Tuesday next the 16th of this month*, as a baronet, with the remainder at his death (as he, Nash, has no family of his own), to his nephew, Mr. Edwards, a gentleman of excellent character, large property, who sat in the last Parliament, and who has proved himself a thorough supporter of Government, and a most *loyal man*, besides being well known to me *personally*. Mr. Nash has been most infamously used, and there is but one opinion about it, and therefore it is not only an act of justice to *him*, but *to my own dignity*, that this should *forthwith be done*. For of those who go through the furnace for *me*,

the influence of Lady Conyngham. Sir R. Peel and the Duke remonstrated with the King at this unauthorised interference with the powers of the Lord Lieutenant, but the man, I believe, was reprieved."—See 'Wellington Despatches,' vol. vi. 553, *et seq.*

and for *my service, are not protected, the favour of the Sovereign becomes worse than nugatory.*[1]

"Your very sincere friend,

"G. R."

The Duke's reply to this very peremptory letter was equally decided.

"London, June 15, 1829.

"I did not write to your Majesty as soon as I received your Majesty's commands yesterday, as I wished first to ascertain whether the report of the Committee upon the conduct of Mr. Nash had been made to the House of Commons. That report has not yet been made; and I conclude that your Majesty would not wish to confer an honour upon an individual while his conduct is, as far as the public knows, still under inquiry.

"I have not seen the report; but as far as I can judge from what I have heard of it, although the Committee do entirely acquit Mr. Nash of any fraudulent or corrupt transaction, they nevertheless consider that the circumstance of his having been at the same time architect of the woods and forests, and lessee of the estates of the Crown, was likely to lead to bad consequences, and ought not in future to be permitted.

"When your Majesty spoke to me some days ago upon the subject of Mr. Nash's promotion to be a baronet, I represented to your Majesty my reasons for thinking that it was not desirable that your Majesty should create baronets at present, and as your Majesty will probably wish to have this question postponed till the report of the Committee will be made, I beg leave to submit to your Majesty the following considerations.

"Mr. Nash has now charge of the great works being carried on at Buckingham House, which will not be finished, as far as he is concerned, till Christmas next. They will come under the discussion of Parliament more than once,

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 616.

and I cannot but be apprehensive that your Majesty would expose your Government, and even Mr. Nash himself, to much additional observation and inconvenience if your Majesty were to confer upon that gentleman any mark of your Majesty's favour until that great work were finished and Mr. Nash should have closed and passed his accounts."[1]

The King's proposed Visit to Paris, 1829.

On the accession of the Ministry of Prince Polignac in 1829, whose policy led, in so short a space of time, to the July Revolution of 1830, the King, instigated by the Duke of Cumberland, in the hopes that it would be accepted as a proof of the royal protest against the liberal views of the Duke of Wellington in carrying the Catholic Relief Bill, and an adhesion to the ultra party, proposed to visit Charles X. *incognito*. On this the Duke addressed to him the following strong letter:—

"Sir William Knighton has communicated to me your Majesty's wish to go to Paris, and I assure your Majesty that nothing would gratify me more than to promote any wish of your Majesty. It is needless to discuss the state of the law upon the subject of the King quitting this country, as what I am now about to submit to your Majesty turns upon the circumstances of the time. There is no doubt that it is important that all the friendly relations between your Majesty and the King of France should be cultivated as

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 617.

The substance of the report, which was not presented to the House of Commons until the 19th of June was (1) to negative the imputation of fraud; (2 and 3) to negative the assertions as to the way he obtained the Crown lease in Suffolk Street, and became lessee of the Regent's Canal Company; (4) that in these transactions he was at the same time lessee of the Crown, and its architect and surveyor; (5) that though no loss has been sustained by the public from his being at the same time in both these situations, yet the Commissioners of Woods should not in future permit any architect or surveyor to hold lands or erect buildings which he is as architect or surveyor called upon to value or report upon. Hasty summary by Mr. Goulburn. Letter to the Duke, June, 1829.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. v. 616.

much as possible, and particularly those of a personal nature. The happiness and prosperity of your Majesty's kingdom, and the peace of the world, depend in a great degree upon these relations.

"But I am confident that your Majesty's presence at Paris at the present moment is not calculated to improve those relations. The King of France has lately made a change in his Ministry which, whether beneficial or otherwise, is very unpopular at Paris, and is most falsely attributed to the influence of your Majesty's servants. Nothing would be more false than to state that the cause of your Majesty's visit to Paris at this moment, unexpected as it is, is the desire to countenance, support, and establish the Administration recently formed by the King of France. But however unfounded such an assertion, it would be openly made by some, and believed by others, to the great inconvenience of the King of France and his Government. It will be impossible for your Majesty to visit Paris assuming any title or in any character which can conceal that which belongs to you; and I consider it essentially necessary that your Majesty should be received upon your arrival at Paris, not only by the King and his Court and his servants, but by the public at large, with the attention, respect, and affection which are due to you. If I have not mistaken the state of public opinion at Paris at the present moment, I cannot doubt that you would not be received as the King of this country, whatever his title and character, and particularly your Majesty, ought to be. I believe that the King of France would not have the power to protect your Majesty from those effects of the public temper occasioned by the late changes in his Ministry, falsely attributed to your Majesty's counsels. It is not fit that your Majesty should be placed in the way of risking such events, which would be equally disagreeable to your Majesty's feelings and to those of your people, as they would be undeserved, and as they would

eventually prove detrimental to the friendly relations between the two countries.

"I beg that your Majesty will believe that, in writing upon this subject, I have been guided solely by my desire to prevent the occurrence of circumstances which will hurt your Majesty's feelings, and will make you very uncomfortable, and will for that reason greatly irritate all your people.[1]

"Aug. 26, 1829."

The Duke and the Polignac Cabinet, 1830.

Among the popular charges against the Duke of Wellington was the supposed influence exercised by him over Charles X. in the appointment of Prince Polignac as his Premier. This charge was to some extent revived, by those who wished it to be true, by the publication, in Baron Stockmar's memoirs, of a report of the visit in July, 1829, of the old Duchess d'Escavi and her friend, Madame du Cayla, to George IV. According to the Baron, immediately after the reception there was a rumour of a change of the French Ministry, and on the 8th of August Polignac was appointed.

"Martignac," continues Stockman, "was obnoxious to the Duke, because a Liberal, who wished for men of his own way of thinking in the matter of Russia, Turkey, and Greece—hence the anxiety to get Polignac, whom the Duke expected would side with him, but who was compelled, so as not to seem to be a mere creature of Wellington, to side with Russia. Wellington did not give formal advice on the July measures, but I believe that George IV. and Wellington foresaw and approved them, and Charles X.'s Ministers were confirmed and encouraged in their policy."[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 109.

[2] 'Stockmar,' vol. i. cap. 6.

"I expected," writes Peel, "little better from the act of extravagant folly committed by the King and Prince Polignac—or whoever they may be who were the authors of the late ordinances. What can be expected from men and women, who in such a contest as that which was clearly impending began by putting themselves most unnecessarily completely in

It seems almost surplusage to say that this statement of the scandal-loving Baron was utterly unfounded. The following conversation with Mr. Croker at Walmer, Oct. 2, 1834, gives one reason why the Revolution in 1830 succeeded so easily:—

"*Duke.* Mole told me years before Polignac's Ministry, that if ever he, Polignac, should be made Minister, there would be danger of a catastrophe, because he said that with considerable talents he had a *caractère indomptable*, and that no consideration of expediency would induce him to bate one jot of anything that he thought abstractedly right. Such men make great catastrophes."

"*Croker.* But why did he not show some of his *caractère* in collecting the troops to support his *ordonnances?*

"*Duke.* First of all, he did not expect resistance by force; but in the next place he did not know how to go about it.

"*Croker.* Why, he had himself the *portefeuille* of the War Department.

"*Duke.* Yes; but that is the very fact which proves my assertion. He did not even understand the returns in the office. Marmont told me his whole story when I called on him at Brunet's Hotel on his arrival here, and one particular of it was that on the morning when Marmont received the command of the troops, Polignac told him that he had 12,000 men. Marmont doubted whether he had half the number. Polignac produced the last return; but it was a return of the whole nominal strength; he made no de-

---

the wrong? I say women, for I think the whole proceedings are much more like those of a foolish woman, hoping to take revenge of the revolution of 1789, than of a sane man accustomed to public affairs."

In 1843 the Duke told Mr. Raikes that Charles X. "privately obtained a dispensation from the Pope, not to fulfil the oaths he had taken at his coronation, and that this getting wind considerably increased the feeling against him. The old fox Louis XVIII. was aware of all this, and would never consent to be crowned, that he might avoid the dilemma."—Raikes 'Journal,' Walmer, 1843.

duction for 4500 men who were absent or on furlough. An economical mode they had at that time of sending a large proportion of their troops on leave of absence, during which they stopped their pay; he made no deduction for the sick, nor for the casualties, so that Marmont was quite right. He had not half 12,000 actual bayonets." [1]

In reality there were only 3400 soldiers, including gendarmeries, in Paris. The real reason for this, according to *M. de Circourt*, who was at that time in the Foreign Office, lay far deeper than the Minister's ignorance of the difference between the nominal and real returns in his department. The troops that ought to have been ready to hold Paris were gathered on the Belgian frontier ready to make an attempt to detach Belgium from the Kingdom of the Netherlands.[2] The accusation of connivance of the Duke with Polignac's appointment was at once repudiated by Sir R. Peel in the House of Commons. Had the Duke been

[1] Croker, vol. ii. 234–5.

[2] M. de Circourt says: "Polignac had for some time been intriguing to detach Belgium from the King of the Netherlands, partly from a fanatical desire to release the Catholic population from their Protestant connexion (in which he was seconded by the priests), but in part also from a notion that a military demonstration on the side of Belgium would be popular in France, and would disarm the parliamentary opposition; so that in fact the movement that took place in Brussels shortly after the revolution in July, and was attributed to the example of that democratic explosion, had in fact been prepared by Polignac; but it is still more strange that the very means taken to promote this lawless object proved to be the ruin of Charles X. and his Minister. With a view to the occupation of Brussels, or at least a demonstration on the frontier, the French Government had assembled two large camps at Luneville and St. Omer, and in these camps the bulk of the available forces of France were collected, leaving but a small residue in Paris and the centre of France—the more so as Bourmont had with him a considerable and well-appointed army in Africa; so that when troops were most needed one part of the army was beyond seas and the other out of the way on the Belgian frontier.

"Bourmont was perfectly aware that some such scheme as the July ordinances was contemplated by the Court and the Cabinet. The King had given him special orders to terminate his campaign in Africa, carry

wrong headed enough to have thus interfered with the policy of the French monarch, he would hardly have prevented George IV.—who no doubt sympathised with Charles X.—from paying his *incognito* visit to Paris, which his brother of Cumberland had instigated him to make (see the Duke's letter of Aug. 26, *ante*, p. 243).

Difficulties after passing the Catholic Relief Bill, 1829.

To the Duke of Northumberland (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), in a letter on the state of Ireland after the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, the Duke of Wellington thus speaks of attempts made in England to wreck the Government, or force a reunion with the old anti-Catholic party.

"Calumny has, as usual, been very busy here. Every effort was made at the close of the session of Parliament to convince the Government, Parliament, and the public, that the Administration were too weak to go on; that we must reunite with our old friends, and that this object could be

---

off the Dey's treasure, and bring the troops back to France as soon as possible. About a month before the Revolution a ciphered despatch came from Bourmont to Polignac, in which Bourmont earnestly entreated Polignac to take no important step till his return, adding that he hoped to terminate the African expedition in a few weeks, and to prove what he was capable of in His Majesty's service. He had calculated that by the month of September he could bring the greater part of the army back to Paris, and the success they had recently had in Africa would attach the troops to himself as a commander, so that he should be in a condition to crush all resistance to the measures of the Court. But Bourmont's despatch had the opposite effect to that contemplated by Bourmont. It produced in Polignac a violent jealousy of his military colleague, and he determined to act in Bourmont's absence, so as to have all the credit to himself, and remain at the head of the King's Government. On the day the ordinances were signed, Polignac said to M. de Circourt, 'This day the King begins to reign, which he has not done before.' These were the motives for precipitating the blow and causing it to overthrow its authors."—Extract from M. de Circourt's 'Memoirs,' in the review of them, *Edinburgh Review*, No. 316.

attained only by giving them the security which they would have only by becoming a part of the Government. I admit that I was, and am, most anxious to have the confidence of the old friends of the Government, and I believe that I possess that advantage to a greater degree than many are disposed to admit. But I did not, nor do I now, think that I am in a situation to require that I should treat with any party as a party; and most particularly not with that party which had quarrelled with me upon every subject, because they had differed with me upon one on which they had equally differed with Mr. Pitt and others.

"Then when it was found that I made no advances towards this party, it has been thought expedient to say, nay, almost to swear, that I had, and to name individuals to whom the most urgent importunities had been made; which individuals, it must be observed, are probably the very last for whose assistance in government any man in his senses would ask.

"Then attending upon these calumnies, those who circulate them have played a game in Ireland not nearly so innocent. Having encouraged the disposition, too prevalent in Ireland, of one party to triumph over the other, they have predicted the downfall of the existing Administration, founding these predictions upon the calumnies of which they are themselves the authors; and they have further held out hopes of the repeal of one of the laws of the last session as the consequence of this downfall. This is, however, a little manœuvre which will answer no purpose. If Ireland can be kept in tranquillity; if the law is put in force in every case in which an attempt is made to commit a breach of it, that comes to the knowledge of Government; if it is the Government that governs, and not the demagogues, or the priests, or the the Liberal clubs; and, above all, if confidence is restored as between the Government and the resident gentry, I will defy, not only the party to which I have

referred, but any party and all parties to do any injury to the Government."[1]

The Intrigues of the Duke of Cumberland, 1829.

Ernest Augustus Duke of Cumberland had been a political intriguer since the earliest year of the Regency, when, from the management of the ministerial arrangements rendered necessary by the murder of Mr. Perceval, he alienated his brother the Regent from his old political associates. The influence thus originated grew steadily, and in the latter days of his brother's reign became a standing difficulty in the way of his Ministers, the Duke taking advantage of his relationship to visit the King in season and out of season, and to influence him to acts of personal interference inconsistent with the due relation of the Crown to its responsible advisers. To the Duke of Wellington as Premier he was a constant source of trouble, especially from the time that his Grace's intention in favour of the Roman Catholic Relief measures were made public, which he did his utmost to frustrate, assuming, since the death of his brother of York, the lead of the anti-Catholic party, and endeavouring to prejudice the King's mind against his Cabinet. In these intrigues he was currently reported to be assisted by a veteran *intrigante*, the Princess Lieven, the wife of the Russian ambassador, to whom the policy of the Duke of Wellington, in relation to the movements of Russia against the Ottoman Porte, was eminently distasteful. The Duke of Wellington, however, was not the man to endure this unconstitutional interference on the part of a Royal Prince, and on the very first occasion that presented itself in a form that could be opposed he acted with his usual decision.[2]

Hence, when in Nov. 1829, the Prince, on the death of General Garth, persuaded the King to direct the new appointment of colonels so as to favour his own personal friends, without any previous communication with the

[1] Aug. 4, 1829. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 70.

[2] Under date of July 23 Lord Ellenborough notes: "The Duke of Cumberland was at Windsor at the Royal Lodge. He is a Mephistopheles, and sure as ever he can do any mischief, he will."—Lord Ellenborough's 'Diary,' vol. i.

Commander-in-Chief, and in entire disregard of his recommendations, the Premier interfered. He advised Lord Hill to acknowledge the King's commands, but at the same time request a reply to his own letter of recommendation.

"This," wrote the Duke "will lay the ground for his future proceedings. If the King should not attend to his recommendations, it will be for him to determine whether he will or not go on. *I would not if I were in his situation;* and this he may rely upon—that if he gives way and goes on under the circumstances attending this arrangement, there is an end of his authority. If the answer to Lord Hill's letter is that the King does not accept his recommendations, Lord Hill had better take no further steps, excepting through me. He must send off one of my messengers to me at Peel's. I will come up to town immediately. Unless the King gives way, this affair cannot be settled. We cannot allow the Duke of Cumberland to conduct the military affairs of the country.[1]

"To Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Nov. 21, 1829."

Probably aware of the Premier's determination, the King gave way, professed to have received Lord Hill's recommendations after he had written his own letter, cordially approved of them, and contented himself with expressing his desire that the Duke of Cumberland's friend should be selected for the next vacancy.

Again in the same month the Duke of Cumberland presented to his royal brother a petition in favour of some Irish Association of the Brunswick Club order, which ought to have come through the Lord Lieutenant. The Premier at once burked it on that account.

Again, during the difficult negotiations for the selection of a monarch for the new kingdom of Greece, the Duke of Cumberland, in one of his private conversations with the King, gave him a letter recommending Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, which he seems to have persuaded the King conveyed the wishes of the King of Prussia. This

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 300.

letter[1] the King read to Lord Aberdeen (Foreign Office), who communicated it to the Duke of Wellington (Dec. 9, 1829). In this communication Lord Aberdeen reported that Esterhazy (Austrian Ambassador) had been told by the Duke of Cumberland that on the previous day he had been closeted for three hours with the King, and told the ambassador that "he was certain the French Ministry would not last, and would bet that the English Cabinet would fall first." "I should think," writes the Foreign Secretary, "it too serious an affair for me to go on with a general remonstrance upon the conduct of the King towards his Government, and of his manner of conducting business through irresponsible persons. This might more properly come from you, and would certainly do so with more effect." Hence the following letter from the Premier:

To the King.

"London, Jan. 30, 1830.

"I trust that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to approve of my availing myself of this opportunity to draw your Majesty's attention for a moment to the relation in which your Government stands towards His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

"I have no reason to complain of His Royal Highness's opposition to, or want of confidence in, your Majesty's Ministers, or of his personal hostility to myself, though I lament that His Royal Highness should think that he has cause for those feelings. But I complain that his is not a fair political opposition; I complain of his reports of me personally at Windsor, and of his using your Majesty's name in communication with political characters in this country as well as abroad. The consequence of his frequent long interviews with your Majesty is that he is supposed to speak your Majesty's language, even when he does not use your Majesty's name. If the

[1] In reality the letter was from the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz to the Duke of Cumberland, written, as he says, by desire of the King of Prussia. (See letter to Peel, Dec. 10, 1829.)—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series.

only inconvenience attending this state of things were that the public confidence in your Majesty's Government was deteriorated without cause, it would not be unimportant, inasmuch as your Majesty's service must suffer from such want of confidence in the stability of your administration. But it exposes your Majesty yourself to be misunderstood. Indeed, it is represented that your Majesty keeps in your service Ministers in whom your Majesty does not confide, and whom you wish to dismiss from your Majesty's service. All this is the consequence of the language of the Duke of Cumberland and of his interviews with your Majesty. The inconvenience which is felt, and to which must be attributed much that we now see going forward, may lead to a crisis of which the consequence will be to occasion to your Majesty much vexation and trouble, and it may possibly prove injurious to the Monarchy itself.

"The disgrace of an individual like myself, and the breaking up of an Administration, are trifles in comparison with the objects to which I have adverted. I supplicate your Majesty's attention to this subject. Your Majesty will see that I consider it no more than my duty to recommend Mr. Jelf (the tutor of the Duke of Cumberland's son) to your Majesty to be preferred to be a canon of Christ Church. I trust, therefore, that your Majesty will not be induced to believe that I write this letter upon this occasion for any reason excepting because it appears to me to be one likely to draw your Majesty's attention seriously to what is thus humbly submitted to your Majesty by your Majesty's most dutiful and devoted subject and servant,

"WELLINGTON."[1]

The Lievens and the Duke of Cumberland.

"In respect of Madame de Lieven," the Duke wrote to the Foreign Secretary, "she and M. de Lieven have knocked

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 455-6

at every door, viz. the King, Lady Conyngham, both repeatedly, and every description of faction and party, in order to break down the existing Administration. To attain this object all is fish that comes to her net. She wants to attain this object not from any personal dislike to me or any of its members, not because we entertain any notions hostile to the Russian Government, but because we are an *English* Administration, and because she knows we have the discernment to see what they are about, and the will to oppose them if necessary, and the firmness to execute our purpose. The fall of this Administration, if only for a day, would give them time to do much which they cannot do at present, and she would drown us for that day if she had the power. I know that she has been concerned with the Duke of Cumberland as well as with everybody else. Not that she wishes what he wishes, but because he afforded a chance to pull us down. The person to whom she looks is Lord Grey! Why? Because Lord Grey entertains some old opposition opinions of Mr. Fox's, that the Turks ought to be driven out of Europe."[1]

In a subsequent letter to Lord Heytesbury, our ambassador at St. Petersburg (Sept. 8, 1829), the Duke gives a

[1] To Lord Aberdeen, July 29, 1829, vol. vi. 56.

April, 1829, Lord Ellenborough notes in his 'Diary': "Madame Lieven is endeavouring to form a Government with the Duke of Cumberland, the ultra-Tories, Canningites, and some Whigs. King very Russian. I believe all this will end in nothing. Chancellor thinks they may try to make a change when Parliament is up, and so have six months before them. They may think of it, but the only object of such a Government would be revenge. They cannot repeal the Relief Act, and do not want to pursue a different line of policy either at home or abroad. Foreigners think that having settled the Catholic Question, we are ready to draw the sword and find a field of battle wherever we can. This the Russians are afraid of, and hence they want to overthrow the Government. But the real foundation of all the Russian intrigues is Madame Lieven's hatred of the Duke, and her rage at feeling that she had overreached herself."—'Diary,' vol. ii.

history of the mischievous attempts of these diplomatists, male and female, for the past three years.

"Lord Aberdeen has shown me your several letters and despatches on the subject of the Emperor's displeasure with myself.

"I have known that, since the year 1826, Prince and Princess Lieven have taken pains to represent my conduct, whether in or out of government, in the most unfavourable manner at St. Petersburg. I believe their displeasure commenced in a conversation which I had with Prince Lieven in the end of 1826, upon the intention, then in contemplation, of turning the protocol of April 1826, into the treaty of July 1827, to which I stated my objections so strongly as to declare that as a member of the then Administration I never would agree to the plan.

"I was out of office from April 1827, to the following January, during which time I know that the Prince and Princess wrote of me all the evil that they thought and much more than they knew. From the time that I returned to office in January 1828, the Prince and Princess Lieven have been what is called in regular opposition to the Government. They have misrepresented to their Court all that we have done, and particularly that I have done; they have been parties to all the party intrigues against the Administration; and really, if I had not the very best authority for what I say, I could not have believed it possible that persons who have been so long employed in public office in this country would have committed the extraordinary indiscretions in this way of which they have been guilty.

"However, I have never hinted a suspicion of such conduct. I have treated them both as I do all the other ambassadors, with the highest distinction. I have been always upon the most cordial terms with Madame de Lieven, but coldly with Monsieur de Lieven, since the scene about the treaty in 1826. This is very much caused by his own

manner towards me. I thought it right to have with the Russian Ministers the explanation which Lord Aberdeen will send you, in order to put an end to the perpetual suspicions and complaints of which we have heard, and to show the Emperor that we were not aware we had ever given cause of complaint.

"I particularly request, however, to be understood as not making any complaint of Prince or Princess Lieven. I know that all I have stated to you in this letter is true. I know that their misrepresentations of things here, and particularly respecting me, have done all the mischief. But I can prove nothing, and I will not complain of any man, to deprive him of his office, without being able to prove that which I state against him. Besides that, to tell you the truth, I am perhaps vain enough to think that I am too strong for Prince and Princess Lieven, and that I prefer to suffer a little inconvenience to taking a step which might require from me some explanation.

"However, I have thought it as well to let you know how the matter really stands."[1]

When William IV. ordered that the Guards, as in former days, should be under the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cumberland resigned his colonelcy of the Blues. "He could not," he wrote to the King, "as the oldest Field-Marshal next to the Duke of Wellington, take orders from a general officer junior to himself, though Commander-in-Chief."[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 144.

From a letter from Lord Heytesbury of Sept. 30, it appears that the Duke's memorandum referred to above produced an excellent effect upon the minds of the Russian Ministers. As to the Lievens, he writes, "I shall abide strictly by the instructions given to me by Lord Aberdeen, and the line chalked out in your Grace's letter. I shall take no steps for obtaining their recall, but, at the same time, I shall do nothing to prevent the adoption of such a resolution." He then states that he believes that the project of leave of absence is revived, and that Matuscewits will be sent back to temporarily occupy the place.—*Ib.* p. 187.

[2] Letter to the King, July 30, 1830.

Presumably by the Premier's advice, the King merely expressed his regret at his resignation.

Though since the 12th of Aug. 1829, the Duke of Cumberland had discontinued to notice or speak to the Duke of Wellington, when the Reform measures were being pressed by the Grey Cabinet, he would gladly, like the other politicians who had deserted the Duke in consequence of his passage of the Catholic Relief Bill, have made friends with him. The Duke, however, held off from any personal intimacy. He could not forget "that in his own opinion the Roman Catholic question ought not to have estranged from him so many of his political friends if it had not been for influence exercised by the Duke of Cumberland over the late King." From that day the Duke of Cumberland was little heard of, until, on the accession of the Queen, he became King of Hanover.[1]

Within less than two months after he had given his assent to the Catholic Relief Bill, the King died, and his brother, the Duke of Clarence, ascended the throne. Of the last illness of the King the Duke gave the following account to Mr. Croker in 1834.

"He talked very differently to different people and at different times. To his sisters he said he could not recover. On the Wednesday before the Friday night on which he died (I always saw him on Wednesdays and Saturdays) he went through all the business I had to lay before him—all, and when it was over he said, 'I think your next visit will be the last I shall receive here, for on Monday I shall go to the Cottage and then to Brighton,' and so on with an enumeration of various places he had.

"*Croker.* He took leave of Peel three weeks before his death, tenderly saying that they should never meet; and I think

[1] In this position, despite all his arbitrariness, rude manners, and bad temper, he was practically a good King to his people, and especially considerate to those of the burgher and working classes. On his death, in 1851, the letter from the Duke of Wellington, inserted in facsimile, *post*, p. 346, was written to the Rev. C. A. Wilkinson, who had been the late King's chaplain, and from whose interesting volumes a clear insight is given into the character of King Ernest and the manners of his Court.

it was to Peel that on some mention of the Cottage he said, 'Ah, the poor Cottage, I shall never see it again.'"[1]

Of his late master the Duke gave the following character:

"He was one of the cleverest and most accomplished men in Europe, the most extraordinary compound of talent, wit, buffoonery, obstinacy and good-feeling—in short, a medley of the most opposite qualities, with a great preponderance of good that I ever saw in my life."

It may be said that "in him infinite insincerity was accompanied by a grace of manner which regained confidence as rapidly as it was forfeited."[2]

[1] Strathfieldsaye, March, 1834.—Croker.

[2] Character of Pope Clement VII.—Froude's 'England,' Henry VIII. vol. vii. 123.

CHAPTER XV.—1830–1832.

The Duke and Parliamentary Reform—The First Reform Cabinet—The Duty of the Opposition—Swing Riots, 1830–31—The Duke's attempt to form a Cabinet in 1832—Paper Currency—Buckinghamshire Lace—Plans of Projectors—Advice on Emigration—On Reporting Private Conversations.

The Attempt to Form a Cabinet, 1832.

On the accession of William IV. the Cabinet of the Duke was retained, but only for a brief period. A firm believer in the existing political arrangements of the constitution, the Duke would not yield to the cry for the Reform of Parliament which had now acquired such strength as not to be resisted, and furnished the real though not the formal means for the defeat of his Government. At the opening of the first session of the new Parliament in 1830 the Duke's declaration of his determination not to bow to the cry for Parliamentary Reform so strengthened the hands of the Whig and Radical Opposition, that his defeat on Mr. Brougham's threatened Bill was all but certain. As it happened, Sir Henry Parnell's motion for a Committee on the Civil List came on first. By the negligence of many of its supporters that motion was carried against the Cabinet, and the Duke caught at this opportunity of "resigning at an hour's notice in order to prevent reform being carried by storm," and thus saddled the victorious party with the settlement of a question on which the personal feelings of the King were certain at the outset to put him at variance with the incoming Cabinet.

The Duke on the Duty of the Opposition in 1831.

On the accession of the Grey Cabinet and the impending production of the Reform Bill some of those of the Tory

party who in revenge for the Catholic Relief Bill had deserted the Duke's Cabinet, were anxious to take immediate advantage of the admitted weakness of the new Ministry to oppose them in a thoroughly party spirit. Even the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Eldon were ready to join with the Duke in such a policy, but he would not fall into the trap.

To the Duke of Buckingham (on Jan 26, 1831), who had urged him to this violent course, he accordingly wrote the following truly statesman-like letter:—

"There is, in truth, not much difference of opinion between us on the facts. There is a great deal on the course of conduct to be pursued, or rather on the time of adopting that course.

"I am quite certain that the plans of the Government cannot be adopted without leading to the most disastrous results, and I hope and I think I see reason to believe that the good sense of the country is beginning to have its effects, and that we shall be enabled to get the better of their schemes.

"But we must recollect how we stood in November—a majority in Parliament had voted against the Government upon a question of the Civil List. The country was in a state of insanity about Reform in Parliament. The Administration were under the necessity of resigning at an hour's notice, in order to prevent Reform being carried by storm; and the King was under the necessity of taking Lord Grey and the Whigs into his service.

"Could we at that time commence an opposition? What is the legitimate object of an opposition? To deprive of power those men of whose measures, principles and conduct we disapprove, in order that the Sovereign may be disposed to entrust with power those in whom we have confidence. I suppose that we have confidence in ourselves; but supposing that we had the offer of power to-morrow, could we accept it?

"I must answer that question in the negative. We are not at this moment on better terms with our former friends

than we were. I firmly believe that the majority of them prefer the Whigs to us. The reason is this. Their objection to us is without reason, and *personal.* They must see that we were right and they wrong upon the Roman Catholic Question. But they are angry with us for that very reason.[1]

"Then I must add that there are difficulties in the way of the details of an accommodation with that party, which appear to me to render it impossible under existing circumstances. This being the case, I contend that nothing would be so unwise as for the late King's servants to enter upon an opposition which must have the effect of uniting against them, in and with the existing Government, the persons composing the five parties, by whose votes they were deprived of power in November.

"Every day may produce an alteration: I certainly will not consent to any compromise of principle. I will oppose every measure which I may think revolutionary. But I cannot think that it would be right to commence a regular factious opposition at the present moment.[2]

"I found the King in tolerable health, but apparently very anxious about public affairs. He was relieved, however, from his anxiety about Hanover. I think that pains are taken to convince him that all is going on right. But his anxiety shows that he suspects the truth. He was remarkably kind to me."

[1] In his memorandum in 1830, in which he urges Peel to take the helm and offers to "support or serve any Government he may form," he makes the same statement. The heads of the parties were Mr. Huskisson, Lord Palmerston, C. Grant, Sir J. Graham, Sir J. Mackintosh, Duke of Richmond, Lords Falmouth, Londonderry, Holland, Eldon, and the Duke of Cumberland.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii. 106.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii. 399.

See Lord Burghersh's letter to the Duke, Feb. 27, 1831, in which he states that Lord Eldon, Wetherell, Lord Mansfield, and others are most anxious to reunite with him and Peel, and that he is to include the Duke of Cumberland in the same policy.—*Ib.* p. 408.

After the dissolution in 1831 it was proposed by some of the Tory party that there should be a meeting of peers to address the Crown. Against this step the Duke protested.

"We have been dissolved by the King as a House of Parliament," he wrote to Lord Wharncliffe (April 23). "Our character of peers continues, and we shall meet in that character without his authority, and contrary to his inclination, to discuss his last act in relation to ourselves. This will not look or sound well; I think it will do us more harm in the eyes of the public than good can be done by the meeting in exposing the conduct of the King's servants. In my opinion the House of Lords is the only place in which as peers we ought to discuss such subjects. We are there the conservators of the constitution; and we can there act with the freedom which is the attribute of members of Parliament. Out of doors we are no more than others of His Majesty's subjects, excepting that we possess the privilege of being exempt from arrest, and we have titles of honour and rank and precedence in society. But these very privileges, the peculiar duties of the House of Lords, ought to induce us out of doors to be the example of loyalty to the King, and of submission to the laws and to authority; and we should take care to avoid the appearance even of acting upon a contrary principle. If this ought to be our course in ordinary circumstances, it ought to be so particularly in the critical times which are approaching." [1]

Again too, when the creation of peers was threatened, and a motion was suggested for an address to the Crown deprecating such an exercise of the royal authority, the Duke wrote to Lord Londonderry earnestly recommending that the subject should not be broached.

"It would afford," said the Duke, "the strongest possible ground to the Ministers and their adherents of the Radical

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii. 432.

Press and the mob, to urge upon the King the creation of a large number. They would say to His Majesty, 'This oligarchy is too strong for you and your Government, they will not allow you to make an effort at least to relieve yourself from their tyranny. You must make an effort or you will lose your character and your *popularity*. The people will not believe that you are in earnest.'"[1]

The Swing Riots, 1830.

When these riots broke out, nominally on the part of the agricultural labourers, who professed to attribute the distress from which their class, as well as that of the other portions of the labouring population, suffered, the Government of the Duke took active measures for their suppression, and before its resignation had increased the military forces in the disturbed districts, offered rewards for the conviction of incendiaries, and issued special commissions for the trial of the leading rioters.

No sooner was the Duke free from office than he went down to his county, and as its Lord Lieutenant took the lead in vigorous measures for the suppression of the riots.

His opinion of this agitation and of its leaders is given in the following letter:—

To the Duke of Buckingham.

"Dec. 4, 1830.

"I concur in your reflections upon incautious promises to raise wages to twelve shillings a week. Those who would suffer most from such a general measure would be the labouring classes themselves.

"We shall do no good with the poor and poor laws till the gentlemen of the country and the clergy will themselves attend the parish vestries.

[1] Aug. 14, 1831. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii. 492.

See also previous letter of Jan. 1, 1831, to the Duke of Buckingham, in which the Duke writes: "I am convinced that it is the duty of those who wish to maintain things as they are in the country, to remain quiet till they see real cause to take an active part. This is not only the wisest, but it is in reality the only practicable course."—*Ib.* p. 387.

"I think it fortunate that the outrages commenced as they did in Hampshire, and were aimed at once at the pockets of those who had anything in them. Not a life has been lost, but little concession has been made, and little property destroyed by open outrage. In the meantime those who have something to lose have learnt how to associate and resist, they will be better prepared for what we may yet have to do."[1]

To Lord Malmesbury.

"London, Dec. 6, 1830.

"I entertain no doubt that there exists a formidable conspiracy; but as yet I don't believe that we have got a trace of it. We certainly had not when I quitted the office, and I don't believe the King's present servants have.

"I am inclined to think that the operations of the conspirators in this country are conducted by Englishmen; but that the original focus is at Paris.

"We have in this country unfortunately a very numerous class of men, well educated, who have no means of subsistence, and who have no employment. These are the gentlemen who go about in gigs. You will ask how are these men subsisted? How are the gigs, &c. paid for? I answer that I know that the *Société Propagande* at Paris had at its command very large means from subscriptions all over Europe, but particularly from the revolutionary bankers in France. A part of these means is, I think, now applied to the purpose of corrupting and disturbing this country."[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii. 372.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 373.

Whether or not the Duke was correct in tracing the organising of the Swing rioters to the money of the *Société Propagande* or not, it was evident from the adroitness and careful preparation with which these outrages were committed that others besides "the smock frocks" were at the bottom of the conspiracy. They were well supplied with money. On the trial of Evans, one of these incendiaries captured by the Duke of Richmond, it

mpt that was made to get the Yeomanry as
Reform Bill.]

mon Bell and the
ing have divine.
have another act
st on this subject; and
ll by something of
and among the Legal
the City of London
have the best first
Sincerely Wellington

The Duke's Attempt to form a Ministry in 1832.

So far as the public history of the ministerial crisis of May 1832 is concerned, its incidents may be briefly narrated. After the second reading of the Reform Bill had been carried in the Lords by the narrow majority of five, through the votes of the waverers led by Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, it was put in peril by the success which attended Lord Lyndhurst's motion in Committee to postpone the disfranchisement clauses until the enfranchisement ones had been considered. On this the Ministry, on the 8th of May, 1832, resolved on asking the King to create a sufficient number of peers to ensure the safety of the Bill; and on his refusal, tendered their resignation, which was accepted. The King at once sent for Lord Lyndhurst, who communicated with the Duke and with Sir R. Peel. The latter peremptorily refused to sacrifice his consistency a second time, and support a measure of Reform which he had so constantly opposed. The Duke was ready to obey the call of his Sovereign, as an act of duty, and in that cause to sacrifice his consistency. He, as the King's dutiful servant would serve in any position—under Peel, under Manners Sutton the Speaker, or if no one else would, he would take the lead as Premier himself. In the last position, when Peel had refused, he tried to form a Cabinet. He found a large number of his friends ready to

was proved that he had stock receipts for £800 in his possession, on which £50 was left as well as a recipe for chemical combustibles; and others of them were found to be in receipt of good wages. Greville 'Diary,' 1st series, vol. ii. (Nov. 22). At Sir Harry Oxenden's, in Kent, one of the machine-breakers acknowledged that they were unwilling to injure Sir Harry, so good was he to the poor, but that *they must do as they were ordered.* "They all wear smock frocks now," says Lord Ellenborough in his 'Diary,' vol. ii., "but their language is better than their dress. When money was offered to them by the Oxendens, if they wanted it, they said *they did not want money—they obeyed orders.*" The magnitude of the evil, which spread throughout the southern and eastern counties, may be judged by the fact that at one special assize, that at Winchester, Dec. 1830, more than 270 prisoners were put on trial, of whom no less than fourteen were sentenced to death. The Duke's Cabinet before it broke up had increased the military force in the disturbed districts, offered rewards for the conviction of incendiaries, and issued special commissions for their immediate trial.

work with him on the principle of carrying an extensive system of Reform, but not the Bill; but the support of those who did agree, though personally hearty, was not enough.[1] Besides these difficulties he was met by renewed and violent agitation on the part of the political unions, and by a resolution of confidence by the House of Commons in the late Ministers. During the discussions some one suggested that opposition to the Bill should be withdrawn, by the absenting of Opposition peers, if the threatened creation of peers was not carried out.[2] The hint was ventilated in the House of Commons; the Duke resigned his commission, and after a week's crisis the Government resumed their place.

Such are the leading facts, the published facts. The following extracts from the Duke's letters expose the nature of the difficulties in which he laboured with his own political friends.

The correspondence, as given in the 'Civil Correspondence' (vol. viii.[3]), commences with a note from Lord Lyndhurst previously to his starting for Windsor (May 10), in which he states that, "the more he considers the subject of their consultations, the more he is satisfied that the Duke must be content to be *the Minister*, or everything will fail. He is con-

[1] At an interview on May 12, the Duke told Mr. Croker, "that the meeting of Lords yesterday had agreed to support the King's Government even in passing the present Bill with some amendments; and then he told me that if no one else would, he would himself undertake the government. He said he had passed his whole life in troubles, and was now in troubles again, but that it was his duty to stand by the King, and he would do so; for what," he added, "could I say to these gentlemen who met here yesterday, and who consented, at my suggestion, to forego all their private feelings and interests for the great objects of preventing a revolution, but that I would not myself hesitate to undergo all the odium and all the danger which might attend our attempt?"—Croker, vol. ii. 157–8.

[2] Mr. Croker in his 'Diary' takes to himself the credit of this suggestion —a last resource when he found that Peel was not induced by his arguments to sacrifice his consistency to office—arguments coming strangely from Croker when they failed of any effect as applied to himself by the Duke. If the idea was his it is strange that he did not claim it in the House, and more strange that it was adverted to by Lord Ebrington before it was suggested by Baring in the debate of May 13.

[3] From pp. 303 to 333, the dates of the various letters are given in the text.

fident that they can manage the affair, and that the situation of things is such that it is their duty to try." In a second letter, dated half-past nine that day, after his return from Windsor, where he says, "everything is well," he begs for an interview. The Duke's reply, dated ten o'clock, is characteristic of his idea of the duty he owed to the King when called upon to assist him, irrespective of every personal consideration.

"I shall be very much concerned indeed," he writes, "if we cannot at least make an effort to enable the King to shake off the trammels of his tyrannical Ministers. I am perfectly ready to do whatever His Majesty may command me. I am as much averse to reform as ever I was; no embarrassment of that kind, no private consideration shall prevent me from making every effort to serve the King. I think that you had better adhere to your resolution to decide nothing till I shall see my noble friends to-morrow morning."

The Duke then saw the King, as requested, through Lord Lyndhurst, and on the 12th wrote to him that "in the course of the day he had seen some of the gentlemen mentioned by His Majesty. The Duke is apprehensive that Mr. Herries, as well as Mr. Goulburn, will be unwilling to serve. He will see the Speaker this night, and hopes to be able to report to your Majesty in the morning on his final determination, and on that of Mr. Wynn and Mr. Frankland Lewis."

On the Saturday Lord Lyndhurst appears to have sent to the Duke a list of persons to be spoken to, and won over if possible, cleverly though briefly sketching the characters of each, and the difficulties likely to be encountered in persuading them to assist in the attempt.

"*Lord Lowther*," he writes, "is not a speaker, but is very active, intelligent, and shrewd; and the influence of his family connections is very considerable. He should not, I think, be neglected, but his pretensions are very high. *Wetherell* is a peculiar character, he will require considerable management. I should think the Duke of Newcastle might assist you. *Wetherell* is a most important card, for if he is

not with us, he is sure, I think, to be against us. It is, I think, *absolutely necessary* that *Croker* should consent to be a member of the Government. I think with his assistance the House of Commons could be managed. Among the lawyers you forget *Pemberton* (who is excellent), and *Pollock* and *Knight Bruce.* I think *Lord Sandon* (Lord Harrowby's son) should have an offer, he probably will not accept on account of Liverpool [*for which he was M.P.*]; but he is much considered, and it will please Lord Harrowby. If you do not mean to include *Wharncliffe*, I would without delay make an offer to *Wortley* (his son); but I advise you to consider well the question as to *Wharncliffe.* It is true he will be troublesome with us, but he is gallant, and may be very troublesome against us. What do you mean to do with *Wynford? Daniel Whittle Harvey* hates the Whigs, and is an excellent speaker. I think you should make some communication *soon* to *Carnarvon.* Let me remind you of the King's request as to *Fred Fitz-Clarence*, and the Vice Chamberlainship, and *Horace Seymour* as Equerry. I forgot to remind you in the above of *Alex Baring* for an office; the only offer was that of leader. Perhaps he may accept an office."

What the monied and commercial classes thought of the crisis was on the same day communicated by Arbuthnot to the Duke in the following report of a visit from Rothschild.

"He came to tell me that if you let it be known as soon as you meet Parliament, that whatever may be your own opinion of reform you are resolved not to disappoint expectations which are so greatly raised, and that your determination also is to do your utmost to preserve the peace of the world (so seriously threatened by the Belgian and Greek questions), you will surmount all your difficulties. He says that among the monied men there is an alarm lest there should be such an opposition to all reform as would cause commotions, and he adds that the foreign Ministers—he instanced Talleyrand,

Wrisenberg and Bulow (*France, Austria and Russia*)—are in great anxiety lest the King of Holland should be led to expect such support from the new Government as would lead to war. He assured me that the general feeling was, that you would surmount your difficulties if men's minds were tranquillised as above stated, and if having the reins in your hands you were resolved to keep them. He is determined," he said, "to keep up the funds to his utmost, and he is confident he will succeed."

The next letter from the Duke's old comrade, Sir Henry Hardinge, shows that the settlement of the crisis still turned on the adhesion of the Speaker and Mr. Baring.

"Sir James Graham," writes Hardinge, May 13, "has just admitted that if your Government can get Mr. Baring it is safely landed, and I hear Baring has said that he will accept office if the Speaker will lead the House. The latter is to be influenced by the hope of Baring's support as a colleague; and I must beg leave to say with regard to Mr. M. Sutton, that his value at this crisis is not to be estimated by his real ability, but by the reunion of many advantages which no other man can possess. For fifteen years he has preserved the respect of the House; he speaks collectedly and well, he has heard every debate on every important question, he has compromised himself on no question; and as the adhesion of one man induces another to enlist, who would otherwise hold off, I think you will pardon my suggesting that this conditional mode of applying to both these persons may be of use."[1]

In the afternoon the Duke reported to the King that "in his interview with the Speaker last night he found that

[1] Sir Henry then states Peel's willingness to help, short of taking office, and so to assist in framing the reply to Lord Ebrington's resolution in favour of the late Government, and that the probability of the Duke's securing the Speaker and Mr. Baring is spreading consternation among his opponents.

gentleman's opinion to be that no advantge would result to His Majesty's service from his being his Minister, to compensate for the inconvenience of his withdrawal from the chair." And at 6 P.M. the Duke writes that "he has had a long interview with Lord Lyndhurst, Baring, and the Speaker, but regrets that he cannot report any satisfactory result. The Duke is to see the Speaker again to-morrow. The acceptance of Mr. Baring appears to depend a good deal on that of the Speaker."

According to the statement in Mr. Croker's Diary, at that meeting the Speaker refused to lead the House of Commons, as the Duke persisted that he himself should be Prime Minister. This statement—admitted to be only hearsay—appears to be inconsistent with the next letter from the Speaker, dated the 14th, "that he is most anxious to have a personal interview with the Duke before the whole matter, as far as he is concerned, is concluded; is prevented from coming, as the House is sitting, and does not know for how long;" ending with this sentence, "I will now say with reference to your Grace's proposition of yesterday, that if no other arrangement can be made, *I must give way*, though with fear and trembling." Up to the evening of the 14th, therefore, it is clear the Speaker had not definitely refused to assist.

It would appear from a letter from Lord Lyndhurst, of the 14th, that the offer to the Speaker was not merely to lead the House of Commons, but to do so as Premier, to which he strongly objected as likely to be objected to by their anti-Reform friends. "I incline to think that the answer will be favourable. If it is otherwise, we must assemble some dozen of the best of our young friends in the House of Commons, and ask them if they will fight it out; and, if they consent, I think we ought not to give up the affair."

The Duke took the same view. "I confess," he replied to Lord Lyndhurst on the same day, "that I did not like all that passed yesterday; and I had reason to believe afterwards that many of our friends will not approve the arrangement. This may be flattery or vanity. It is clear, however, that I must take steps to reconcile them to it."

The attack upon the Duke in the House of Commons that night, inducing Mr. Baring to make the suggestion he did, practically put an end to the Duke's exertions.

"Mr. Baring," writes Sir H. Hardinge in reporting the debate, "in a second, rambling speech, has stated his wish, and almost made a proposition to the House, that the King should be requested to allow his Whig Ministers to carry the Bill, the Minister pledging himself not to require the meditated creation of peers. Sir Francis Burdett has followed the same line, approving Mr. Baring's suggestion, which Lord Ebrington had before adverted to.

"After this night's debate it is very essential that your Grace should confer with those who have heard what has passed, and are accustomed to form a judgment of the temper of the House. In any decision I am always your Grace's devoted servant."

The Duke at first did not seem to realise the effect of Baring's suggestion. "He had imagined that the debate had been very favourable in the first instance, but confesses that he does not see very clearly how speeches or a vote of the House of Commons can prevent him from pursuing the course on which he has entered, unless it should be found that a Government cannot be formed for the King in the House of Commons."

On further consideration the Duke abandoned the idea of Sutton's Premiership, and early on the 15th waited on the King, informed him of what had passed in the House of Commons, and resigned his commission. On this the King determined to write to Lord Grey asking him to forego the extensive creation of peers, and to so amend the Bill as to satisfy opponents. Lord Grey, however, was only willing to amend subordinate details, and not to make any change in its principles. As to the other question, he must see his colleagues. (*The Duke to the Speaker, May* 15. *Taylor to the Duke of the same date.*)

We now find a letter from the King's eldest illegitimate son, whom he had created Earl Munster, who busied himself in the crisis, reporting the visit of Lord Grey to the King and the King's determination not to create peers. (*Munster to the Duke, May* 16.) The Duke of Buckingham, acting probably on similar information, was dissatisfied at the Duke's resignation of his commission; "he considered the

step too hasty, the Duke should have consulted the peers who say they supported him, and expected to be made parties to the decision before it was acted on." This brought the following plain-speaking reply from the Duke:

"I am very sorry that any peer should be dissatisfied with the course I have taken. I have summoned peers to a meeting here this night, I cannot have another to morrow. *I was not acting for any body of men, but for the King.* I informed certain peers of what I was about to do in order to conciliate their confidence, but *I was not acting for them or under their direction,* or *in respect to details with their knowledge.* A crisis occurred in the House of Commons on Monday evening, which made it clear, first, that I should not have the support of any of the Opposition, or of those who should be in office and of their connections. Secondly, that a Government could not be formed of men capable by their talents, their experience and *status* in the House of Commons to conciliate the public confidence till an attempt should be made to reconcile the King and his Government to the principle of not creating peers to carry the Bill. The moment that the King determined to communicate with his Ministers, with a view to their resumption of their offices, there was an end to my commission. Indeed, there was an end to it when I found that I could neither form a Government nor find support for the Government in the House of Commons. I might have maintained the state of suspense for some time longer. *Cui bono?*—to consult the peers? For what other purpose? For none excepting a revival this night of the discussions of last night in more violent terms.

"12 *midnight.*—I have just come from a meeting of peers, who appear quite satisfied with the course I have taken." (*To the Duke of Buckingham, May* 15.[1])

[1] I regret, from want of space to omit several subsequent letters bearing on this incident, such as that in reply to Mr. Bingham Escott, who had suggested that the question of Reform might be regarded as simply one

At the interview with the King the Duke told him "that as an individual peer he should not attend further discussions on the Reform Bill, and that Lord Lyndhurst did the same. We both propose to act accordingly, but I confess that I don't think that I can declare in the House of Lords what my course will be, as a condition that the Minister should refrain from his recommendation that peers should be made to carry the Bill, without making myself a party to the proceeding." (*To Earl Munster, May* 16.)

Five more illustrations of the Duke's opinions will conclude the extracts from the Civil Correspondence. Of these "His Views on a Paper Currency," on "The Proposal for the King to force Buckinghamshire lace into fashion, by ordering its being worn at the drawing rooms," and "On the Plans of Projectors," date before the close of his Ministry. The others—on "Reporting Private Conversations," and "Advice on Emigration"—are of a later date.

Paper Currency.

To Sir Robert Farquhar.

"Woodford, Sept. 9, 1829.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR,—I have received your letter and your paper. I don't know to what school you belong, but some of your notions are not orthodox, such as that an increase of price will discourage production, &c., &c. This must be

for legislation alone, and that "the Ministers as acting for the executive had nothing to say to it,"—a view denounced by the Duke as erroneous in practice, however true it may be in theory;—that in reply to Lord Falmouth (May 26, 1832) strongly objecting to his proposed abstention from the future discussion on the Bill, in which the Duke claims to have acted "as an individual only—others judging for themselves have thought fit to follow my example. Will they follow my course if I alter it? I have adopted this course because I was convinced that the King was desirous of avoiding the destruction of the House of Peers";—the Duke's refusal to countenance a proposal of the Duke of Newcastle to raise a discussion on the subject of an undue creation of peers for the purpose of carrying any particular Bill. (The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke, May 30, and the Duke's reply, June 1.)

wrong. If one man has a machine that nobody else has, which he must keep at work, or he will acquire no profit, and moreover, his machine will deteriorate, he will work it for a small price and low profit, or even no profit rather than lose the value of his machine. But this cannot last. He must in the end cease work altogether. Raise the price and increase the profit, and of course the proprietor of the machine will increase its produce. If he does not, somebody else will, either by the same machine or by some other, if the first is protected by a patent, so similar as to produce the same work, although so different as to be protected from the law.

"If this is true respecting machinery, how much more true is it in respect to work by hand. The first effect of increase of price is increase of profit; then increase of work, then increase of labourers' wages; then increase of profit to cover the expense of labourers' wages. So that in all ways increase of price would be increase of produce. Now it happens that in these days the words of Scripture are not true. The man who makes two pairs of stockings where one pair was made before is not blessed! According to you he ought to have the Bank of England or county banks, or some establishment or other in the country, authorized to coin fictitious money, in order that people might be able to buy more stockings than they should require. I say no, that remedy will not answer.

"This country cannot go on, no country can go on, upon such principles. He who coins that money, coins it at my expense, at yours, at that of the banker and merchant who has capital, and even of the comparatively poor man; the farmer with £100 capital, the widow, the orphan, or the half-pay officer.

"It is possible that for some time none of these may suffer. There may be no false speculation, no dishonesty, no gambling in the funds or in hells, no extravagant living,

no genteel or respectable appearances upon no money, no expensive genteel education of children, and there may be no accident.

"But all this is very improbable. Allow me to tell you that the moment an accident happens it falls upon some innocent person who has something, and it is serious in proportion to its extent, and may involve in its consequences the State and the fortune of every individual in it.

"It is not true that there is a want of currency in the country. I positively deny the fact. There is more currency than there ever was before. But it is solid. A banker cannot make it; and therefore he will not lend upon any other than good security, because he knows that the loss, if there should be any, will fall upon himself, and that immediately. But if he coins the money himself the loss may fall upon anybody. The banker will take care that it shall not fall upon him. No country can bear this.

"I have written more than I intended upon this subject. There is, however, one remark more that I must make upon your plan, and that is, that you avow that it must drive our coin out of circulation, and that this is desirable. I there drop the subject. We cannot make ourselves inhabitants of the moon. We must live with our neighbours, and if we do, we must have metal coin."[1]

Buckinghamshire Lace, 1830.

In reply, on March 8, 1830, to Mr. Thomas Clarkson's request that the King should hold a certain number of drawing-rooms and command all attending them to wear Buckinghamshire lace, the Duke made the following most pertinent reply:—

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 146.

See also letter to Lord Kenyon, Walmer Castle, Nov. 19, 1831, vol. viii. 217, on the question of bankers giving security for their notes.

"If the use of lace is the fashion it will be worn whether the King orders the use of it or not. If it is not the fashion it will not be worn though the King might order the use of it.

"But I beg you besides to observe that even if lace be worn it does not follow that the lace used would be manufactured in Buckinghamshire. I understand that lace is manufactured elsewhere at a lower price by the use of machinery, and it is impossible to expect that any order or even fashion can compel the use of the more expensive lace.

"Another object of your statement and of the petition is to obtain an increase of the duty upon foreign lace, and of the use of a stamp to mark the lace manufactured in Buckinghamshire.

"There are proofs now before the public that large quantities of lace manufactured in England are exported to France and there fraudulently introduced.

"Lace in this country must consequently be both better and cheaper than in France. The existing duty must consequently be sufficient to protect the lace manufacturers in England from the competition in the English market of the lace manufacturers abroad.

"In respect to the use of a stamp on English lace, the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade are decidedly of opinion that there is no measure which can be adopted which would be so injurious to the trade in lace as the use of such a stamp."[1]

The Plans of Projectors.

To Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

"March 8, 1830.

"I return Mr. Sinnett's letter. This gentleman is one of those who speculate upon inventing plans and projects for Government when they have nothing else to do. There are

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 527.

thousands of them at present in England, as well as I believe elsewhere—the offspring of the march of intellect. Their object is money, which, please God, they shall not get from the public Treasury. The mode of acquiring it is an audience. They would depart from the audience, pretending to be under the impression that the plan is to be adopted, and then would commence a new era in their fortunes. The projector would have a grievance. Either his plan is not adopted, and his time and trouble have been employed in the public service to no purpose, or, something upon the same subject being done, his ideas have been borrowed by the stupid Minister and he ought to be rewarded to the full amount that Mr. Palmer has received and has claimed from the public for improvements in the internal carriage of the mails. This is the outline of the case of the whole race of projectors. I never therefore receive any of them. I never ask for or encourage them to send plans. I am the recipient of them very much against my inclination." [1]

Reporting Private Conversations.

"Woodford, Sept. 11, 1832.

"My dear Sir,—I return your brother's letter, and would certainly recommend it to you not to publish it. I cannot understand how he or any man could have believed that the French had in 1815 a garrison of 50,000 men in Strasburg, and that there were 70,000 men (Germans) watching them. In respect to myself, I don't recollect my conversation with your brother. He certainly does not state accurately what I thought of the Emperor Napoleon, or of the battle of Waterloo, or of the British troops. But I must go further and say, that nothing can be more unfair towards individuals than to write regular reports of their light conversations upon such subjects, and then for the friends of the writers to

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 529.

publish them years after their death. It is quite obvious from the perusal of this letter that it never was the intention of Mr. Thomas Sydenham that it should be seen by me, much less that it should be published. Why, then, am I to be made responsible for the opinions attributed to me in this letter? Does any man believe that this letter will not give ground for discussions in periodicals in all languages on every syllable that it contains? What is the consequence of such publicity of gossiping letters between brothers? Men with information, and capable of affording it, will be silent in society, and will leave conversation with those the repetition of whose sentiments will not be injurious or inconvenient to themselves." [1]

The nature of this letter of Mr. T. Sydenham is sufficiently indicated in the Duke's reply. His brother George, by a letter to the Duke, of Sept. 8, seems to have made some previous communication as to a conversation, and to have forwarded the gossiping letter as a means of recalling the conversation to the Duke's memory. "If your Grace," he writes, "would do me the favour to mention any time when I might wait upon you, I could produce other letters, furnishing abundant proofs that my brother's mental energy was unimpaired by the severe illness which terminated his existence." Apparently this refers to the Mr. Sydenham who was sent by the Marquis Wellesley to the Peninsula during the earlier time of the war, as a confidential agent to obtain information of the state of affairs.

The Duke on Emigration, 1832.

Among the many subjects on which the Duke's advice was sought during the violence of the Reform agitation and subsequent legislation, was that of emigration, by a clergyman in Ireland, who, not without reason, feared for the results. The Duke's advice is so sound and plainly given that it deserves the consideration, especially in these days, of all would-be emigrants:—

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. viii. 399.

"My dear Sir,—I have received your letter, and I am much flattered by the confidence you repose in my judgment. It is impossible for any man to form an opinion of what will be the result of the measures of the past two years. It is my opinion that such a democratic influence has been established over the Legislature as to render the ordinary operations of the Government very difficult, and the protection of the institutions of the country, and of the property by the Government, nearly impracticable, and as must change its policy, domestic as well as foreign. I confess that I should not be surprised if the colonies were—indeed I suspect that they will be—separated from the mother country, as the first consequence of the general weakness which must result from what has been done.

"Your profession in Ireland has suffered greatly already. It will suffer, I am afraid, still more. The question is whether, under the best possible circumstances, to remove your family to Canada would afford you and them relief from the difficulties under which you are labouring. I am one of those who do not feel much confidence in the benefits to be derived either by society at large or by individuals, from emigration. There is a great advantage certainly in obtaining land at a low price. But let any man consider what is the sacrifice of property, of time, and of comfort for himself and his family which he makes in his removal (which, observe, cannot be temporary), and in the period of time which must elapse before his new property can become productive, and compare that sacrifice with the produce of a similar sacrifice only of luxury, comfort if you please, and appearance at home, and he will find that the gain by removal to the colonies will be but small. My opinion is that if those who go abroad, and still more those who go to the colonies, to economise, would submit to make the same sacrifice at home as they must make abroad and in the colonies, they would find that they can subsist as cheaply,

particularly in Ireland, as they could either abroad or in the colonies. The fact is, that men cannot bear to make these sacrifices in the presence of their neighbours and friends which they do not scruple to make before strangers, or in a forest or swamp, or in a desert in America.

"But let us consider whether there are not higher and more important views of this question which ought to decide you in the course which you ought to take. You are a minister of the Church of England. You have, I understand, a cure of souls. Can you abandon your post in a moment of crisis and danger for worldly objects? Your flock ought to provide for your decent and comfortable subsistence; and they not only do not perform that duty, but they persecute you! Still ought you to abandon them? Is it not your duty to remain at your post? Expect better times—make every exertion, every sacrifice to enable you to do justice by everybody, including your family; but I confess, if I was in your situation, I would not quit my post.

"Remember me most kindly to Mrs. ——,

"And believe, &c.,

"WELLINGTON."[1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. viii. 472.

CHAPTER XVI.—1832–1852.

The Duke's reported Intention of leaving England—His Warning to Lord Melbourne on the Reported Designs of Russia—His Position in the Cabinet of Sir R. Peel in 1841—The Duke and the Corn Law Question—His Reasons for supporting the Repeal of the Corn Laws—His Feelings after its Passing—His Defence of the 62nd Regiment in the Campaign on the Sutlej—His Measures for the Defence of London at the time of the Chartist Meeting in 1848—His Advice to Lord Malmesbury when appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1852.

The Duke's Reported Intention of leaving England.

As the object of the previous portions of these selections was to exhibit the political opinions and acts of the Duke of Wellington, mainly from the 'Civil Correspondence,' they close at the period (Dec. 1832) at which the late Duke discontinued the publication of the letters and despatches of his father—a decision deeply to be regretted by all who are interested in the political and social history of the many subsequent years, during which, whether in or out of office, the illustrious warrior and statesman exercised so powerful an influence.

For the following illustrations of some of the remaining incidents in the Duke's political life, we are indebted to the publication of the diaries and letters of some of his friends and contemporaries.

The first illustration now given, taken from the memoir of the Right Honourable J. C. Herries, refers to the report, circulated at the period of the passage of the Reform Bill, of the Duke's intention of leaving England in disgust at recent political events.

"Belvoir Castle, Jan. 5, 1833.

"My dear Herries,—Arbuthnot has shown me a letter from you on the subject of the paragraph in the *Morning Post, Standard,* &c., respecting my *intention* of going abroad. It is difficult to judge what was the *intention* of these gentry in publishing such an article, which, till I saw your letter, I considered a matter of indifference. It is still more difficult to contradict the existence of an *intention* excepting from authority; but as I never have had, so I never will have anything to say to any newspapers.

"But the *intention* is supposed to exist because there has been a reduction of establishments, servants, &c. This fact may be contradicted if it is judged necessary. In fact I have as many servants as I ever had; and more horses, because I am in the habit of going out hunting more frequently.

"No establishment has been diminished, not even that for preserving game, notwithstanding that since the enactment of the Game Bill to put down poaching, there has been such an increase of that crime that there is no game to preserve.

"This is all that can be said upon the subject. But I should prefer to say nothing, and to leave this lie to take the usual course—that is to be the wonder of nine days, and to be the subject of various anonymous and abusive letters to myself, and then be forgotten, unless others should wish it to be contradicted by a contradiction of facts.

"Believe me,

"Ever yours most sincerely,

"W."[1]

The next illustration is furnished by a quotation in the review of the late Lord Broughton's 'Diary' in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1871, already referred to.

[1] Memoir of Rt. Hon. J. C. Herries, vol. ii. 164–5.

The Duke's Warning to the Government of the Designs of Russia, 1838.

"When I came to the Cabinet on Saturday March 2, 1838, Palmerston said, 'Here, see what they are preparing to do with you and your dominions;' and Lansdowne handed me a letter, dated the same morning, from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Melbourne. The letter began by saying, that he had so often communicated with Lord Melbourne on matters connected with the Queen's service, he should not offer any apology for writing to Lord Melbourne now. The news had come to him in a singular way—but all sorts of people were in the habit of writing to him on all sorts of subjects. The son of a Hampshire gentleman, who was Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor of Russia, had a brother who arrived in England, and told his father that his brother had seen on the desk of the Emperor a proposal bearing the words: 'Approved by the Emperor.' It had been drawn by the War Minister, referred by him to the Foreign Minister, and by him laid before the Emperor. The proposal was enclosed in the Duke's letter, and was to this effect: '27 sail of the line, 15 frigates, and several transports with 30,000 troops on board, were to sail to the East Indies and seize upon the capitals of the three Presidencies.' The Duke added: 'This intelligence is not altogether to be despised.' He did not believe the invasion would be attempted; but something might be undertaken if the fleet sailed for the East Indies. It might take the Cape of Good Hope—more probably it would go into the Mediterranean, and thence to the Dardanelles in virtue of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The Duke thought it might be advisable to stop the fleet in the channel. His note was short, but quite in his own earnest style, and worth pages of ordinary correspondence." [1]

[1] Lord Broughton, 'Reminiscences,' vol. iv. 269–270, quoted in *Edinburgh Review*, 1871.

The Duke in Sir R. Peel's Cabinet of 1841.

For several years before its defeat in 1841 the Ministry of Lord Melbourne had been getting weaker and weaker, dependent on precarious majorities of five or six members in very full Houses, and almost uniformly defeated in the bye-elections. In this year, however, the balance turned so decidedly against them on the question of the sugar duties, that an immediate resignation was confidently expected. As, notwithstanding this plain notice to quit, the Cabinet still stuck to office, on the 27th of May Sir R. Peel moved a plain-speaking declaration of want of confidence in the Cabinet, which was carried by a majority of one on the 4th of June. Four days afterwards Lord John Russell announced that instead of resigning, the Cabinet advised the Queen to dissolve Parliament on the 22nd of June. The Houses were dissolved, and the appeal made without delay to the electors. The response was decided—Ministers were left in a minority of at least ninety. Still they held on, and in the speech from the Throne recommended the reductions of the customs duties and the revision of the Corn Laws. Defeated on the Address by heavy majorities in both Houses, on the 30th of August they resigned, and the last Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel was formed, in which the Duke was a member without office.

Though not holding any office in the Cabinet, the opinions of the Duke were treated with the utmost deference by his colleagues. "He always," Lord Wharncliffe told Mr. Greville, "sits in the same place, and each person who has anything to say, or any subject to bring forward, invariably goes and sits next to him, to enable him to hear better the material part of what is going forward."[1] It was apparently in this character of not being "an office holder" that he sent the following pithy reply to the repeated applications from the Anti-Corn Law League for an interview.

[1] Greville papers, 2nd series, vol. ix. 1844. According to the same authority, the Duke told the Queen "that she might rely on it that he had only one object—to serve her in every way that he possibly could, but thought he could be more useful to be out of office."

The Duke's Reply to the Anti-Corn Law League.

"London, July 16, 1842.

"Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Taylor. He is not in office in the Queen's political service. He is not intrusted with the exercise of political power. He has no control over those who are. He begs to be excused for declining to receive the visits of deputations from associations, or of individual gentlemen, in order to converse with him upon public affairs. But if any gentleman thinks fit to give him, in writing, information or instruction upon any subject, he will peruse the same with attention.

"To D. A. Taylor, Esq., Brown's Hotel.

"The Duke has received three notes from Mr. Taylor on this subject." [1]

The Duke and the Corn Laws.

Though the non-publication of the 'Despatches' after the year 1832, prevents so complete an illustration of the Duke's conduct in connection with Corn Law Repeal, as one might have wished, the following letters and statements published by other diarists are valuable.

In reply to Sir R. Peel's memorandum of Nov. 30, 1845, in which, on the ground of the potato famine in Ireland, that Minister urged the necessity of considering the whole question of the Corn Laws, the Duke had stated his determination to support the Premier. "My only object in public life," wrote the Duke, "is to support Sir R. Peel's administration of the Government for the Queen. A good Government for the country is more important than Corn Laws or any other consideration; and as long as Sir R. Peel possesses the confidence of the Queen and the public, and he has strength to perform his duties, his administration of the Government must be supported."

[1] 'Annual Register,' *Chronicle*, July 16, 1842.

On the 4th of Dec. 1845, the Cabinet secret leaked out,[1] the *Times*, announcing to the consternation of the usual supporters of the Government, that the Cabinet had decided on the total repeal of the Corn Laws. Strictly speaking, that was not the truth. Sir R. Peel's proposed Bill had not as yet, nor for some time after, been disclosed to his colleagues, and the Duke's adhesion to his policy was given on the faith that the Premier would deal well and wisely with the question. In reply to Mr. Croker on the 6th of Jan. 1846, this was clearly stated. Mr. Croker had urged the Duke to leave the Cabinet, and "let Sir Robert make a Government of those who agree with him in his opinions, and not of those who don't."[2]

"I am most flattered by your favourable opinion," the Duke wrote; "but I think you have taken an erroneous view of my position with which you are not so well acquainted as I am myself.

[1] What Lord Aberdeen told the editor of the *Times* was, that the Free Trade section of the Cabinet were determined on the Repeal, but not that the Cabinet had resigned in consequence. What had been done was that Peel had proposed the suspension of the Corn Laws in consequence of the Irish famine, to which Lord Stanley would have agreed if Peel would have pledged himself to reimpose them. See Peel's 'Memoirs,' p. 214, and Aberdeen correspondence, quoted in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. clviii. 556.

[2] By the middle of Aug. 1845, the official reports of the state of the potato crop in Ireland had assumed a most serious aspect; by the end of Sept. it was known that it had entirely failed. On the 31st of Oct. the Premier brought these facts before the Cabinet in a memorandum deprecating inaction. All he could obtain from them was an adjournment of the question to Nov. 6. He then proposed the suspension of the corn duties. He was supported by only three members, Sidney Herbert, Lord Aberdeen, and Sir James Graham. On the 22nd of Nov. Lord J. Russell, in a letter to the electors of London, declared for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. On the 29th the Premier circulated his memorandum, to which the Duke replied, as stated in the text. On Dec. 2, he brought his proposals before the Cabinet in a definite shape, and on the secession of the Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Stanley, tendered his resignation to the Queen, and Lord J. Russell was sent for, and on Peel consenting, only in his private capacity, to support Corn Law repeal, Lord John resigned, and on Dec. 28, Sir Robert was recalled to office.

"I am the *retained* servant of the Sovereign of this Empire. Nobody can entertain a doubt of this truth, as applied to my professional character. I have invariably, up to the latest moment, acted accordingly.

"When required, and the Sovereign has been in difficulties, I have gone further, as in 1828 I became the Minister of George IV., and in 1832 and 1839 I undertook to form a Government for William IV.

"After Lord John had been sent for, and had undertaken the commission of forming a Government, I, as well as others who had formed part of Sir R. Peel's Administration, was required to state whether any or all of us would undertake to form an administration for the Queen on the principle of maintaining the existing Corn Law. I answered No, because I knew that, be the vote in the House of Commons what it might, there were no persons in that assembly capable of sustaining in debate the existing Corn Law against Cobden and the League, Lord John Russell and the Whigs, Sir R. Peel and those of the Conservatives who should think that the existing law should be altered.

"I besides felt that the existing Corn Law is not the *only* interest in this great nation; and whatever confidence I may feel in my own judgment, I do not think that an Administration could be formed in the House of Commons capable of conducting the affairs of the State, consisting of persons only who are of opinion that the existing Corn Law is preferable to any other.

"When Sir Robert Peel wrote to me on the 20th of Dec., after Lord John Russell had resigned his commission, that if desired to resume his position he would resume it, and stand by the Queen and enable Her Majesty to meet her Parliament rather than that Her Majesty should be under the necessity of taking Cobden & Co., members of the League, as her Ministers, I applauded his determination and determined to stand by him. Here again I acted as the retained

servant of the Monarchy. I was perfectly aware when I did so of the embarrassed position in which Sir R. Peel would find himself, even if disposed to maintain the existing Corn Law, as Lord John Russell, the Whigs, and the League must, as the first step in undertaking to form an Administration, have obtained an accurate knowledge of the cause of their having been sent for—namely, that Sir R. Peel having wished to propose to Parliament a material alteration in the Corn Laws, could not persuade his colleagues to support the proposition.

"You say that it would be better that Cobden should be Minister and propose the alteration of the Corn Laws.

"I have a good deal of experience of the evil which can be done by a Minister of whom it is thought that it would be preferable that he should be the person to carry a bad measure.

"I recollect that in 1832 it was thought that a Government might be formed which in completing the Reform Bill might prevent some of its mischiefs. Some thought, let the Whigs and Radicals who proposed the measure complete it.

"They were successful; the formation of the new Administration failed, and the Reform Bill was carried. All the improvements intended were rejected, and some of the very worst parts of the Bill, the metropolitan boroughs, the Scotch and the Irish Reforms were carried after this failure.

"I answer, therefore, that, happen what may about the Corn Laws, I will not take a course which may have a tendency to reduce the Sovereign to a necessity of requiring such men as Mr. Cobden to be her Minister.

"But I don't despair of the Corn Laws. *I really do not know what it is that Sir R. Peel intends to propose.* I believe that he intends to submit to Parliament a proposition which has for its object to relieve the land from some of the burdens which fall upon land exclusively. I don't know in what manner he proposes to attain his object, or what

alteration he will propose in the Corn Laws; but I will endeavour to render it as little as possible objectionable to the landed interest.[1]

"But having done everything in my power to prevent the dissolution of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, previous to its dissolution in the month of December, I should be ashamed of myself if I was to run away from it now that it is reunited and on the eve of meeting.

"I do that which I have requested our friends the great landed proprietors to do. I will see and consider what is proposed, will endeavour to render those propositions as beneficial as possible to the public interests. I know that without their support Sir Robert Peel cannot carry on a Government with advantage to the public or with honour to himself. But I will not be instrumental in placing the Government in the hands of the League and the Radicals. I am aware that I shall be in a difficult position—that has always been my fate. But I feel no hesitation, and I doubt not I shall get out of it."[2]

The Duke's attitude during the progress of Peel's Corn Law Repeal Bill is described by Lord Malmesbury.

[1] On the 27th of Jan. Sir R. Peel introduced his proposals to a crowded House. After explaining the great reductions recommended on the custom duties on foreign goods, he proposed to admit buckwheat and Indian corn duty free, to make the duty on colonial wheat merely nominal, to continue the sliding scale on foreign grain, carried by him in 1842, beginning with a duty of 10*s.* per quarter on wheat when under 48*s.* a quarter, and falling to 4*s.* when it rose to 53*s.*, and similar scales for barley and oats to last for three years, and after that date to admit all kinds of grain duty free, with a registration fee of one shilling a quarter. The resolutions embodying these reductions were carried on Feb. 27 by a majority of 97. On May 18 the first reading of the Corn Importation Bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Duke, and the Bill read a second time by a majority of 47. The registration fee, which brought in a revenue of a million, was abandoned by Mr. Lowe (1869) when Chancellor of the Exchequer. The measure was accompanied by several substantial reductions of those charges under the Poor Law which had before fallen on land alone.

[2] Croker, vol. iii. 52–3–4.

"The Duke, though he supports the measure, is against it, and told Lord Stanley that his only reason for staying in and supporting Peel was for the sake of the Queen and the peace of the country. He deeply lamented that Peel had brought the measure forward, thought he was quite wrong, that he had broken up a noble party, and that it was for him (Lord Stanley) to rally it again; his own career was nearly ended, and that Stanley must be leader of the party. Lord Beaumont went to the Duke and asked him to grant him a committee for an inquiry into the burthens on land; and he (the Duke) first tried to persuade him to give it up, but finding him firm, he said, 'Well, my good fellow, you must have it; I will not oppose it. I am quite of your opinion on the subject; it is a d——d mess; but I must look to the peace of the country and the Queen.' It is evident from his whole conduct lately this is his sincere opinion, for though he retains office he has never said a word in defence of Peel or his measure, and he sits on the Government bench with his hat drawn over his face, apparently indifferent to all attacks made on the Government, never saying a word in answer."[1]

[1] Lord Malmesbury's 'Diary' (Feb. 19, 1846), p. 122.

In April 1846, in reply to a letter of Mr. Croker's, saying that Sir R. Peel's conversion to Free Trade was not due to the alarm created by the potato disease but to his personal fright of the League, the Duke replied, "The influence of fear is certainly very strong; it acts in secret, and it is difficult to have evidence of it. I cannot doubt that which passed under my own view and frequent observation day after day. I mean the alarms of the consequences in Ireland of the potato disease; I never witnessed in any case such agony. However, other feelings may have prevailed at the same time."

In the debate on the depression of the manufacturing interest on the 13th of Feb. Mr. Cobden had said, "I tell the right honourable gentleman that the whole responsibility of the lamentable and dangerous state of the country rests on him." Sir Robert accepted this as a threat against him personally. On the 21st of Jan. his private secretary, Mr. Drummond, had been shot by McNaghten, who mistook him for Sir Robert. If Henry Pierpoint's report of the Duke's feeling on the subject reported by Lord

What the Duke's feelings were when the unwise desire of the landed interest for vengeance drove Sir Robert Peel's Government from power, after the Corn Law Repeal Bill had been passed, is related by Mr. Croker in a letter to Mr. Lockhart, of 19th Aug. 1846.[1]

"As I leave town to-morrow, I went to take leave of my dear old friend at Apsley House. Nothing can equal his disapprobation, I should almost say despair, at all that has been done, all that is doing, and his apprehensions as to what is coming; and *all* the blame, where you and I would only put part (to be sure the largest part) of it. He, however, is all for amnesty—'*Christian charity*,' which he says is as great a duty in politics as in morals. He is very much shocked, and indeed indignant, at the apathy with which the cause of the mischief looks at the ruin, not only of the party, but of his own followers and *friends*. He went into all this in pathetic detail. He told me, as what I would not believe, that he had never seen *Peel in private* since his resignation, except once that he met him *riding*, and they rode a short way together, just long enough for Peel to ask what the Lords would do with Lord Hardinge's Bill—*not a word more*; and that he had not even seen his face for weeks (I doubt whether he did not say months) before the resignation—I suppose *he meant* except in full Cabinet. In conclusion he advised us to take our political line from *Stanley*, of whom he spoke as *our* leader."

One more extract from Mr. Croker's letters, that of Dec. 16,

Clarendon is reliable, the Duke resented Peel's conduct, and lost all confidence in him. Greville 'Memoirs,' vol. ii. Letter from Lord Clarendon, Jan. 1846.

[1] Croker, vol. iii. p. 76.

June 25.—Third reading of Corn Law Repeal in House of Lords. Same night, Ministers defeated on Irish Coercion Bill in Commons by 292 to 219, On 29th, Sir Robert Peel announced the resignation of the Cabinet and Lord J. Russell's acceptance of the Premiership.

1846, when on a visit to Strathfieldsaye, will serve to close this painful chapter in the Duke's political life:—

"I have had a great deal of confidential talk with the Duke on late and future political events. He had no reason to think that Peel had any *arrière-pensée*, but was really alarmed at the failure of the Irish potato crop, and wished towards the end of October to have suspended the Corn Laws by proclamation, but was overruled; and when Lord J. Russell's letter came out, was very much piqued that he had been thus forestalled; and then he pressed it again without effect, and at last had some scheme by which the Corn Laws were to be successively changed in three periods of seven years each, till totally reduced [? abolished].

"It would seem as if he had had no one with him in the Cabinet but Sidney Herbert and perhaps Aberdeen, but he (the Duke) was not at all in the secret of this change of opinion, and knew very little of what was going on or intended."

When Mr. Croker told the Duke that he had long suspected this from some words let drop by Sidney Herbert before the failure of the potato crop was known—

"Well," said the Duke, "it is odd that the first inkling I had of what was intended was also from Sidney Herbert. We had been attending a Cabinet in Peel's house, where he was confined by the gout, and as we were walking the short step between that and our offices (he was then Secretary at War), he dropped a few words which gave me the first hint that any one was dreaming of such a thing. That fit of the gout depressed Peel exceedingly—to a greater degree than was suspected, and I think it had its influence on his mind and on his measures. But as to the wheel about on the Corn Laws, I was no more prepared for it than any gentleman who was walking in Whitehall the day I crossed it with Sidney Herbert.

"It looks to me like what Sheridan said of the Whigs, 'building up a wall to knock their own heads against.' Nor do I comprehend how the repeal of the Corn Laws can remedy the potato famine in Ireland, where the want is not of food, but of money to buy it."[1]

When Sir John Littler, in his despatch on one of the severe engagements against the Sikhs on the Sutlej, spoke of the 62nd Regiment as having been panic struck, the Duke, in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief of the army, made the following noble defence of that regiment in the House of Lords.

The Duke's Defence of the 62nd Regiment in the Campaign on the Sutlej.

"It is not generally known, my Lords," said the great warrior, "but I know it, that the fortified position which has been referred to was closed in by entrenchments, and that it ought to be called a fortress in place of a fortified position. Notwithstanding also the advantage which troops in India

[1] Croker, vol. iii. 91.

In the 7th vol. of 'Despatches,' 2nd series, there is a letter to the Duke of Northumberland (the Lord Lieutenant) on the causes of the periodical distress in Ireland. "The period of starvation," writes the Duke, "occurs every year after the consumption of the crop of potatoes and the coming of that of the following year, and is long or short according as the season has been good or bad. Now when this misfortune occurs there is no relief or mitigation excepting a recourse to public money. The proprietors of the country, those who ought to think for the people, to foresee this misfortune, and to provide beforehand a remedy for it, are amusing themselves in the clubs of London, in Cheltenham, or Bath, or the Continent, and the Government are made responsible for the evil, and they must find the remedy for it where they can—anywhere excepting in the pockets of the Irish gentlemen. Then the public money, if given for this distress, is applied to all purposes excepting the one for which it is given, and most particularly to that one—viz. the payment of the arrears of an exorbitant rent. The payment of labour by grants of land should be prohibited—rent should be paid, and labour paid for, and this labour should be able to come to market." Vol. vii. 111.

generally possess of having water carried for every company, these troops laboured under the singular disadvantage of being deprived of water for nearly twenty-four hours, in consequence of the persons who were employed to get water not being able to procure it, and the troops had not even that refreshment. Under these circumstances it was that the troops carried this position, not certainly without great loss, but a loss which I hope has not left them in a state otherwise than efficient, if their services should be required on a different occasion. I really must say, that I have not for a length of time heard of an action that has given me such unqualified satisfaction except *in one particular, for I have read with pain of one regiment to which the word 'panic' was attached.*

"I have thought it my duty to inquire into the circumstances attending that regiment, and I find that it lost *five-eighths* of its number in the engagement, and an immense number of officers. I have seen an account which states that in the first quarter of an hour from the moment the regiment was engaged, *one-third* of its officers fell. I cannot question the accuracy of that report of the operations, made by a general officer (Sir John Littler), but I wish that this officer, when he sat down to prepare an elaborate report of the conduct of the troops under his command, had referred to the number of killed and wounded, and had inquired what loss the regiment had sustained. If he had inquired, I believe he would have found that when this regiment was compelled to pause, the men were actually mowed down by the severity of the fire under which they had advanced. I have inquired further into the case of that regiment, and I find that it has been sixteen years in the East Indies, and that in the course of the last forty years it has served thirty-three years of that period abroad, passing only seven years in the United Kingdom. I find also that in the course of the sixteen years which that regiment has served in the East Indies it has been in all parts of India, and its ranks have been in fact

recruited twice over, and at this moment I find, that of the men who made the attack and suffered the loss, three-fourths of them have not seen seven years in the service. I will not detain your Lordships longer, but seeing the word 'PANIC,' I thought it my duty to inquire into all the circumstances connected with this regiment, and I have found a most extraordinary report of their good conduct made by the same general officer on a former occasion." [1]

The Duke's Preparations against the Chartists, April 10, 1848.

Were the Duke's letters of this date available, we should doubtless learn the details of the arrangements which he then made to defeat the threatened movement of the Chartists on that eventful day. In these he had just confidence. "My Lord," he said to Lord Campbell, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the House of Lords, on the evening of the 7th, "we shall be as quiet on Monday as we are at this hour, and it will end to the credit of the Government and the country." The Duke's anticipations were realised. Lord Campbell, however, like his colleagues in the Cabinet, had at first but little confidence in the Duke. "He was never famous," he wrote to his brother, "in knowing the state of the public mind. I suppose we shall all fly to Hartrigge, if I can escape in disguise." [2]

The occasion was calculated to alarm any other than a strong Government. After a lull of two years, the Chartist body had been reorganised as a National Convention, and its Executive Council was composed of the men who had been compromised in the troubles of 1839 and 1842. The result was the preparation of a monster petition, nominally signed by more than five millions and a half of persons, in favour of the six points of the charter, and the determination to hold a meeting at Kennington Common and march thence to present the petition to the House of Commons.[3] The Government

[1] Quoted from Hansard by Lord W. Lennox, pp. 237–41 (1846).

[2] 'Life of Lord Campbell,' p. 235.

[3] Fictitious signatures to petitions were as frequent in the Reform agitation in 1831 and the Chartist movement in 1848, as they appear now

called the Duke into its councils. The scene is thus described by the trembling Lord Campbell :—

"Stratheden House, Sunday night, April 9, 1848.

"My dear Brother,— . . . This may be the last time I write to you before the Republic is established. I have no serious fears of revolution, but there may very likely be bloodshed.

"I have had some recompense for my anxiety in a scene I witnessed yesterday. Of this I can give you some notion without disclosing State secrets, but I would not have the matter mentioned by you to any one. We were considering in the Cabinet how the Chartists should be dealt with, and when it was determined that the procession should be stopped after it had moved, we agreed that the particular place where it should be stopped was purely a military question. The Duke of Wellington was requested to come to us, which he did very readily. We had then a regular Council of War, as upon the eve of a great battle. We examined maps and returns and information of the movements of the enemy. After long deliberation, plans of attack and defence were formed to meet every contingency. The quickness, intelligence, and decision which the Duke displayed were very striking, and he inspired us all with perfect confidence by the dispositions which he prescribed.[1]

---

to be in the agitation against the Corporation of the City of London and the proposed renewal of the Coal Tax. See letter from Apsley Pellat to the Duke, Oct. 31, 1831, and the confession by Mr. Frost in his able history of the Chartist movement, referred to more fully further on.

[1] The riotous meetings in the manufacturing districts in 1830 had directed the Duke's special attention to the precautions necessary for such occasions. In his instructions to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Oct. 12 and 16, he gives the following orders. (1) Avoid to use troops if possible. (2) If used, be certain that it is legal and necessary in order to enable the civil force to protect life and property. (3) If used, take care that they are used positively and decisively successful in a large body with cannon. (4) Collect them at a point most required, though the abandonment of

"There are now above 7000 regular troops in London, besides a train of artillery. The special constables, as you will see, are countless.

"We are most afraid of disturbances after the procession is dispersed, and of the town being set fire to in the night. There are in London a number of foreigners of the most desperate character.

"It was not I alone who was struck with the consultation yesterday. Macaulay said to me that he considered it the most interesting spectacle he had ever witnessed, and that he should remember it to his dying day."

The Duke's arrangements were perfect. Not a soldier was to be seen, though every post of vantage had its garrison. Special constables to the enormous number of one hundred and seventy thousand willingly enrolled themselves, comprising men of every class, and showing the misguided Chartists that they alone were not the people.[1]

From an early hour the Chartists trooped over Blackfriars Bridge unimpeded, but strictly watched, and "every road," says an eye-witness, "converging on Kennington Common

an important post with valuable property may be necessary in so doing. (5) A garrison to remain for the protection of arms. (6) A reserve to be kept in barracks, but, with this exception, all to be employed. (7) Not to pass through narrow streets. See also the instructions to Lord F. Somerset as to the Cold-Bath Fields meeting, "Don't forget provisions, bread, cheese and porter," and the complete details of the troops required.—Letter No. 1958.

[1] As one of the Temple Brigade, under the late Massey Dawson, I have a keen recollection of the discomforts of that day. We were drawn up at the northern foot of Blackfriars Bridge, between Earl Street and Water Street, and as some of us wore glasses (myself included) were not a little chaffed by the women who stood in the side streets. Why I do not know, after a time we were marched into the great room of Bridewell Hospital, where many unwise speeches were made, and then back to the temple in a pouring rain. At night we were ordered to keep our doors open to facilitate our being called up if wanted. As an instance of the mixture of classes among the specials may be cited the fact that Louis Napoleon and the cook of the Athenæum Club were on the same beat at the West End.—Ed.

was thronged with working men." For a brief space there was a fear of a riot.

"I was standing near the van," says Mr. Frost, "in which were the members of the Executive Council and many delegates of the National Convention with the piled-up rolls of the petition, when I heard a cry: 'They have got him,' and a wild rush was made to the western entrance of the common. Looking in that direction, I saw the giant form of Feargus O'Connor towering above the throng, as he moved towards the road, accompanied by a courageous inspector of police. There was a cry repeated through the vast throng that O'Connor was arrested; a moment of breathless excitement, and then a partial rolling back of the mass of human forms that had suddenly impelled themselves towards the road. The tumult subsided; but no one knew as yet what was the situation at that moment." [1]

A compromise had been effected. Sir Richard Mayne, the then chief of the police, on the part of the Government, agreed to let the meeting be held if O'Connor would persuade the people to abandon the procession with the petition to the House of Commons. If not, their march by either of the bridges thither would be resisted. The meeting was practically abandoned, and the monster petition ignominiously carried to the House of Commons in a cart, to be presented by O'Connor, without his accompanying throng. The return was a miserable spectacle. Tired, wet, and hungry, they filtered back in small bodies over the bridges, rather ridiculed than pitied by those who had cheered them on their outward march.

Poor Lord Campbell took courage, and at last began to believe in the Duke. In his letter to his brother of the 11th April, he gives a graphic picture of the Duke's coming to the House of Lords after all was over.

"The fine thing yesterday was when the Duke came to the

[1] 'Forty Years' Recollections by Thomas Frost,' a small volume giving the most reliable information of the inner working of the Chartist movement from its earliest days. London, 1880, p. 137.

House of Lords. I went up to him and said, 'Well, Duke, it has all turned out as you foretold.'

"*Duke:* 'Oh, yes, I was sure of it, and I never showed a soldier or a musket. But I was ready. I could have stopped them wherever you liked, and if they had been armed it would have been all the same.'

"*Campbell:* 'They say they are to meet next on the north side of the town and avoid the bridges.'

"*Duke:* 'Every street can be made a bridge: I can stop them anywhere.'

"*Campbell:* 'If your Grace had commanded Paris on the 25th of February, Louis Philippe would still have been on the throne.'

"*Duke:* 'It would have been an easy matter. I should have made the Tuileries secure, and have kept my communications open.' Then, *more suo*, laying hold of my arm and speaking very loud, and pointing with his finger, he added, 'Always keep your communications open and you need have nothing to fear.'[1]

"This reminds me of the striking speech he made on the Afghan disasters, which he entirely ascribed to our General not *keeping his communications open.*

"Various other peers afterwards offered the Duke their congratulations, and he looked so much delighted that I really believe he was not more pleased the day after the battle of Waterloo. No one was more rejoiced that the affair went off without bloodshed.

"Lord Lansdowne told me he had yesterday seen Guizot, who was lost in admiration at the manner in which the inhabitants of London had conducted themselves. There must

[1] Mr. Charles Knight, in his valuable history, on the authority of one who was present at the consultation with Ministers, states that when one of the Cabinet said, "You have left one bridge unguarded," the Duke said, "he had done so on purpose." No doubt that he had arranged to catch the Chartists if they had thought of getting back in a mass by a distant bridge.

be deep disappointment to-day in Paris. I am just going to a Cabinet. We shall be more light-hearted than when we assembled at Lord John's on Sunday evening."

I am glad to be able to quote Lord Malmesbury's graphic description of these dangerous days :—

"*April* 5.—Every precaution is taken, and all troops within reach have been ordered to London, even those at Windsor, whose duty is to be performed by the Buckinghamshire Yeomanry. General Lord de Ros says the troops are to be concealed as early as four o'clock of the 10th, in the morning, in the neighbourhood of Kennington Common. Their officers are to be present at the meeting in plain clothes.

"*April* 8.—Lady Jersey says that the Duke of Wellington has told her there is not the slightest danger to be apprehended, and he advised ladies to drive about as usual.

"*April* 9.—The Duke of Wellington is to command the troops, and the orders he has given are that the police are to go first and disperse the meeting. If resistance is offered, and they are likely to be beaten, then the troops are instantly to appear, and the cannon to open with shell and grenades; infantry and cavalry are to charge—in short they are to be made an example of. The Admiralty is strongly garrisoned and filled with arms, as also are the Horse Guards and the Treasury. There are 800 men in Buckingham Palace with cannon, and steamers and gunboats on the river. The Ministers are to assemble in Downing Street to be ready for any emergency, but both Houses of Parliament will sit as usual.

"*April* 10.—A battalion of the Grenadier Guards is at the Horse Guards. The mob was not very considerable, and the best behaved I ever saw, and though there were very few police or special constables to keep order, there seemed to be no excitement—nothing but curiosity. Everybody walked

about as safely and quietly as on any other day. We went to Lord Carrington's house to see what would happen. I was much amused by seeing an old gentleman, who rode up in front of the Horse Guards, stop his horse, let the reins fall on his neck, and quietly wind up and set his watch by the clock, an operation which lasted fully three or four minutes. The mob took no notice whatever of him, although I expected they would have laughed at him. Among the special constables stationed round Trafalgar Square, Prince Louis Napoleon was on duty.

"The way the Chartist meeting ended was certainly very absurd, and has covered them with ridicule. A little before one o'clock, Mr. Mayne, the chief officer of police, rode up to Kennington Common, where there were from 15,000 to 20,000 Chartists assembled, accompanied by Lord Duncan. Not a soldier was to be seen, and only two policemen. Mr. Mayne sent to beg Feargus O'Connor to come and speak to him. He did so, pale as ashes, trembling from head to foot, and said to Mr. Mayne, 'What do you wish me to do? I am ready to do anything you advise me!' Mr. Mayne answered, 'What do you intend to do? Do you intend to persevere in your plan of marching in procession? For if you do we must prevent you, though at the same time we have orders to facilitate the presentation of your petition if it is presented in a proper manner.' This seemed greatly to relieve Feargus O'Connor, who apparently expected to have been arrested, for he exclaimed in a delighted tone, 'Thank you, Mr. Mayne, you are my best friend. Shake hands, I'll do anything you like.' He then turned to the people and said, 'Fools, I always said you were fools: this is not the way you ought to act. You are a parcel of fools. Mr. Mayne is the best friend I have in the world. Disperse directly and go home.' Thus ended this ridiculous exhibition, which had created universal alarm, and from which, but for the extraordinary precautions taken by the Duke and the

Government, and the loyalty and courage shown by all classes in uniting for the preservation of order, serious consequences would have ensued." [1]

I am indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Balcarras Ramsay for the following anecdotes referring to the later years of the Duke as Commander-in-Chief.

The Duke and Captain Ramsay.

In the spring of 1849, Captain Ramsay, contemplating marriage, sent in his papers to sell his commission. Soon after, before his name had been gazetted, his regiment was ordered out to India with Sir Charles Napier, on the news of the battle of Chillianwallah. At the suggestion of his colonel, Ramsay hastened to London to endeavour to stop the sale.

"Immediately on arrival in London," he writes, "I hurried to the Horse Guards, and saw Mr. Lindsay, the confidential clerk at the Military Secretary's office. He told me that my request could not be granted; that my resignation had been accepted by Her Majesty, and my commission filled up; that the delay as to my name appearing in the *Gazette* arose from the Queen's illness, the paper not having been signed, but that the *Gazette* would appear that very night or the next. There was evidently no time to be lost, so I asked for and obtained an interview with Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who had always been a very kind friend to me.

"I represented my case to him, showing how prejudicial to my character my selling out at such a crisis would be. Although I had sent my papers in long before the news from India had arrived, yet, owing to unavoidable circumstances, my name would appear in the *Gazette* as selling out almost immediately after the announcement of my regiment being ordered on service. Lord Fitzroy said, 'You are

[1] 'Diary,' pp. 165–7.

perfectly right, wait a moment.' He opened a door leading out of his room, and I caught sight of the Duke of Wellington sitting writing at a table. Lord Fitzroy explained my case to him. He listened attentively, and said, 'Very true; not his fault—let him stay where he is.' And so all ended satisfactorily."[1]

The Duke and General Pigot.

"The first visitor we received on our return to England after our marriage was the gallant old General Pigot, a veteran of close upon eighty years, who rode down from London—a distance of some twelve miles—to pay us a visit. He had been colonel of the regiment in which my wife's father served—the 21st Light Dragoons—and he amused us very much by relating the manner by which he obtained what he ought to have had years ago. The fact was, his service had been performed before the battle of Waterloo, and he was shelved and forgotten. However, he happened to be living in the neighbourhood of Strathfieldsaye, and having been all his life an ardent sportsman and a splendid rider, he went out constantly with the hounds, and there met the great Duke, who was just his age—indeed, I believe a year younger. The Duke took a great fancy to him, and whenever they met, said, 'How are you, Pigot? How is your regiment?' to which the old General used to reply, 'Haven't got one, your Grace.' 'Haven't got one, eh, eh? How is this?' One day the General, on the usual question being put to him, said, 'Would your Grace like to know why I have not got a regiment?' 'Yes, yes,' said the Duke. 'Well, I was commanding the 21st Light Dragoons at the Cape of Good Hope when Lord Charles Somerset was commanding the forces. His Lordship wanted to use some of my troopers in his carriage, and I would not allow him.

[1] Lieut.-Col. Ramsay's 'Rough Recollections, vol. i. 164.

Therefore his brother, Lord Fitzroy, will not bring my name before your Grace for a regiment.'

"The Duke was highly delighted with this story, and when he went up to the Horse Guards, brimful of it, he at once attacked Lord Fitzroy, saying, 'What is this? What is this old Pigot tells me about your brother Lord Charles wanting to put the horses of the 21st Light Dragoons into his carriage, and because he was prevented, you won't give the old General a regiment, eh, eh?' Poor Lord Fitzroy, the most conscientious of men, who had never heard a word of the story, and probably did not know of the General's existence, was surprised, and very soon submitted his name to the Duke for a vacant regiment, and he was appointed to the 4th Dragoon Guards."[1]

One more illustration of a political character will conclude this section of this volume.

When on the 29th of Feb. 1852, the Russell Cabinet resigned on their defeat on the Local Militia Bill, Lord Derby formed a Ministry, in which Lord Malmesbury was placed at the Foreign Office, to the duties of which he was new. According to custom, he first visited his predecessor, Lord Palmerston, who offered "to post him up in foreign matters," and then sought the advice of the Duke of Wellington, whom, as the Lord Lieutenant of his county, he knew very well.

"His advice," writes the noble Earl, in his 'Diary,' under date March 11, "was much the same as Lord Palmerston's (to keep well with France, and see the *prestige* of England abroad does not wane). He had a bad opinion of the Emperor Nicholas's character for sincerity, and said there was much in him of a 'Greek of the Lower Empire.' He wound up as I was going out, 'Mind you keep well with France, as that is a most important object for us; but be careful as to this new change of dynasty' (the approaching Empire of Louis Napoleon). 'I don't believe Louis Napoleon

[1] Lieut.-Col. Ramsay's 'Rough Recollections,' vol. i. 189. Blackwood, 1882.

will ever go to war with us, if he can help it; but he must keep up his popularity, and then God knows what he may do.' He urged me to press on Lord Derby the increase of our armaments by sea and land. We talked, as above, in a small room, sitting in the middle of it, on two board chairs (the only ones in the room), just opposite each other. He was very deaf, and therefore spoke louder than he used to do."[1]

[1] Lord Malmesbury's 'Diary,' p. 239.

PART II.

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF ARTHUR, FIRST DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

CHAPTER I.—1816–1826.

Stockmar's Portrait of the Duke in 1816—The Duke as a Godfather—The Neglected Army Chaplain—Kindness to General Alava—Qualifications for the Magistracy—His Health in 1824, and Cause of his Illness—His Private Charities—Wilkie's and Burnet's Pictures—The Spanish Picture taken at Vittoria.

The Duke in Private Life.

THE private life of the Duke dates from his return to England after Waterloo. Until then his home had been the battle-field. Though only in his forty-eighth year he had won unexampled victories in India against the greatest odds, and when transferred to Europe, by patience, perseverance, discipline, firmness in adverse circumstances, apparent over-caution when caution was required, and rapidity of execution when the true moment for it had come, he had created an army by the aid of which he had defeated, one after the other, the marshals and troops of Buonaparte, and closed his career as a soldier in crushing the power of that all-world conqueror on the field of Waterloo. Slowly but surely he had risen from rank to rank in the peerage of his country, whilst honours too numerous to record had been bestowed on him by the Sovereigns of Europe. Yet, to the astonishment of foreigners, he was content to remain the faithful servant of his King and country, and never entertained a thought of making his

military renown a stepping-stone to principality or kingdom. His one idea was, as it always had been, simply to do his duty.

The following is Baron Stockmar's portrait of the Duke in 1816:—

"Of middle height, neither stout nor thin; erect figure, not stiff: not very lively, though more so than I expected, and yet in every movement repose. Black hair, simply cut, strongly mixed with grey; not a very high forehead, immense hawk's nose, highly compressed lips, strong massive under-jaw. After he had spoken for some time with the Royal family, he came straight to the two French singers, with whom he talked in a very friendly manner; and then going round the circle shook hands with all his acquaintances. He was dressed entirely in black, with the Star of the Garter and the Maria Theresa cross. He spoke to all the officers in an open friendly way, though but briefly. He sat next the Princess Charlotte. He ate and drank moderately, and laughed at times most heartily, and whispered many things to the Princess which made her blush and laugh." [1]

That his favourable opinion and patronage should be widely sought for, was only natural. His influence was popularly considered to be all-powerful, and capable of being usefully invoked for the most varied objects—from being godfather to an officer's child, to compensating some officious stranger who claimed to have been robbed in making a way for him at the door of a theatre. The grounds of his refusal in both cases are worthy of report.

That his influence was not what the world assumed is proved by his vain endeavours to get even a reasonable reward for the army chaplain who had been with him through the whole of his wars in the Peninsula and France.

In the case of his old aide-de-camp, the Spanish General Alava, as in that of his army chaplain, he found that the readiest way to help his friends was to provide for them from his own resources.

[1] 'Memoirs of Baron Stockmar,' by his son.

Duties of a Godfather.

To Lieutenant ——.

"SIR,—I have received your letter of 16th March, and am highly flattered by your desire that I should stand godfather to your son. You are aware, however, that a godfather has certain duties to perform which it is quite impossible for me to undertake in this instance, and it is at all events expected from me in the situation in which I am placed that he should forward the views of his godson in the world. It is much the best and shortest way to state to you the fact, that there are so many officers and soldiers who have claims upon me for services rendered to the public under my command that I cannot, with justice to them, engage myself either directly or virtually to forward the views of any others. I hope, therefore, that you will excuse my standing godfather to your son, as it is really out of my power to undertake to do anything for him at any time.

"London, April 5, 1819."

Officious Politeness.

To Mr. ——.

"London, Feb. 1821.

"The Duke of Wellington recollects perfectly having met a gentleman in the crowd at the door of Drury Lane Theatre on the 6th instant, who having recognised the Duke, mentioned his name, turned about, and walked before him through the crowd to the door of the house. This service, if it can be so called, was purely voluntary on the part of this gentleman. The Duke is as well able as any other man to make his way through a crowd even if there existed any disposition to impede his progress, which did not appear, and therefore the assistance of this gentleman was not necessary, and, moreover, the Duke's footman attended him. In stating this, however, the Duke does not deny that he considered this

gentleman's conduct as very polite towards him; and he was much flattered by it, and returned his thanks for it.

"It appears that this gentleman is Mr. ——, who states he lost his seals, not in returning through the crowd after having walked before the Duke, but in returning through the crowd some time afterwards, after having walked through it to the door of the theatre before Lord Palmerston; and he desires to have compensation from the Duke for this loss.

"Upon this statement, and in order to avoid making this case a precedent for others of the same kind, the Duke, however, flattered by Mr. ——'s politeness, must positively deny that he has any claim upon him for compensation for his loss. The Duke does not consider that Mr. —— rendered him any service whatever, and on the ground of service he must refuse to give him compensation for his loss, even if it had occurred in returning from the door of the theatre after having walked to it before the Duke.

"But as Mr. —— may be a gentleman in circumstances not able to bear the expense of such a loss, and as the Duke certainly considered his conduct towards him as very polite, the Duke feels no objection to assist him to replace the loss he has sustained, at the same time taking the liberty to recommend to Mr. —— in future to omit to render these acts of unsolicited and unnecessary politeness unless he should be in a situation to bear the probable or possible consequences."[1]

The Duke and the Neglected Army Chaplain.

To Lord Chancellor Eldon.

"Strathfieldsaye, Nov. 13, 1820.

"My dear Lord,—You will recollect that I spoke to you some time ago in favour of the *Rev. Mr. Briscall*, who I recommended to your Lordship to be appointed to a living which was then vacant, and supposed to be your Lordship's

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. i. 154.

gift; and you were pleased to express yourself satisfied with the character which I gave you of him. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Liverpool were equally so; but unfortunately, the living was in the gift of the Bishop of Bristol, with whom I was not acquainted, and poor Mr. Briscall remains still unprovided for.

"This Mr. Briscall is a gentleman of education and character, who served for twelve years as chaplain at the headquarters of my army, and was, in truth, at the head of that important department; and when I gave up the command he was put upon chaplain's half-pay, and would have starved if I had not obtained for him from the rector the curacy of this parish. Out of his stipend he supports his mother and sisters; and I have been obliged myself to assist him with money to pay for the furniture of his house and the little stock there is about the parsonage.

"I will not detain your Lordship by enumerating his services, but I must say this for him, that by his admirable conduct and good sense I was enabled more than once to get the better of Methodism, which had appeared among the soldiers, and once among the officers; and yet I could not at the close of his services, from the beginning of the year 1808 to the commencement of 1819, prevent this gentleman from being put on half-pay as an army chaplain; and I have not been able to obtain anything better for him than the curacy of the parish of Strathfieldsaye, although he is the only person whom I have ventured to recommend in this line. I really think that there is no instance of a person who has served so long in such a situation, and so recommended, who has not in some manner been provided for." [1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. i. 149.

On Dec. 21, 1821, the Duke asked Lord Liverpool, on a canonry in St. Paul's falling vacant, that if something became vacant by the appointment to be made to it, Mr. Briscall might be remembered.

In 1822 Mr. Briscall was presented to the living of South Kelsey,

General Alava.

After the battle of the Coa, Captain George Napier went into Celerico to visit his brother William and Captain Lloyd, who had been severely wounded in the engagement.

"When we arrived at Celerico," writes Sir George, "we found them not dangerously but severely wounded, and settled in the Spanish General Alava's quarters, who was then aide-de-camp to Lord Wellington. He had seen these two English officers brought into the town on a bullock car, dreadfully jolted, and a burning sun blazing over their heads; and although the place was headquarters, and full of British officers of every description, all of whom had good, comfortable quarters, and were idling about, not a soul offered to take them in, or to go and look for a house for them, and they lay in the cart for many hours, without shade or water, or any notice taken of them. Nor even did a surgeon go near them; and as Lord Wellington and his staff were away in front, they did not see them. Had he been in the town they would not have dared to leave the wounded for hours in this shameful state of neglect and misery, for I must say that I never saw any officers of Lord Wellington's personal staff who were not ever ready to be of use to the sick and wounded, and to exert themselves in every way to make them comfortable and to show them every real kindness.

"General Alava, seeing the neglect with which they were treated, went and offered them his house, and there every comfort he had was given to them, with that frankness and

---

Lincolnshire, a Crown living for that town, no doubt by the influence of the Duke, who was then in office in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet. The Duke never had a private chaplain. "I disapprove of the privilege which such an appointment gives to a clergyman of the Church of England." Letter of a clergyman asking for the appointment, March 21, 1850.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vi. 533.

kind-heartedness which so highly distinguished that gallant and noble-minded Spaniard, who from that time to the present period has always been our friend. Alava took part in the Revolution in Spain in 1820, and since that has been obliged to live in England and France, having been driven from his country, for which he fought and bled for years, a wandering exile, his property confiscated, his constitution broken down by hard service and mental misery at seeing the unhappy state into which his beloved country had been plunged by the cowardly, cruel, and contemptible Ferdinand. To the honour of the Duke of Wellington, the moment he heard of Alava's misfortunes, and that he had made his escape to and was at Gibraltar, he wrote to him to say that as long as he lived he should provide for him: that he should have apartments in his house in London, and never feel the loss of property in a pecuniary point of view; he also gave him a small house in the park of Strathfieldsaye.[1] This was very right and kind on the Duke's part, and General Alava was fully sensible of it; but after a year or two he found his health would not stand the damp and cold of our climate, and he went to Tours in France, where he resides upon the interest of a few thousands of pounds which he had luckily placed in the British funds when he was Ambassador at Brussels and Paris (he told me he had about £200 a year), and having that, refused all relief from our Government or that of France." [2]

[1] See the letters of the Duke to Alava, May 22 and Nov. 12, 1823, in the last of which, on hearing that Alava was at Gibraltar with Lord Fitzroy, he wrote: "Quand vous voudrez venir à Londres vous trouverez chez moi un logement; et si vous préfériez demeurer à la campagne, j'ai une jolie maisonnette toute meublée, même avec bibliothèque, qui est à votre service. Elle est à une demie lieue de chez moi, et le site est très jolie, très sec, et très sain, le ciel même y est bien, et pas jaune comme ailleurs." The Duke also repeats his offer, if Alava prefers it, to use his influence to procure for him a safe asylum in Sardinia, Tuscany or France.—'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. ii. 179.

[2] Gen. Napier, pp. 135–37–8.

In his position as Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, and subsequently as Constable of the Tower, the Duke had the responsibility of recommending to the Lord Chancellor those persons whom he thought to be suited to discharge the duties of unpaid magistrates. It will be convenient to group together the following illustrations of the opinions which the Duke entertained on the proper qualifications for this much abused office, and on the grave responsibility which rests on those on whose recommendations such appointments are made.

Qualifications for the Magistracy.

In 1821 Mr. Fleming, of South Hants, had recommended for the magistracy the Rev. J. Haviland, a landowner of high character in his parish, but resident at Bath, which had been refused by the Duke. With the reasons then assigned to Mr. Fleming, Mr. Haviland was dissatisfied, and in consequence wrote to the Duke on the 31st of Jan. In reply, the Duke, after expressing his regret that his correspondent was not satisfied, wrote as follows:—

"I cannot consider this power of recommendation as a matter of patronage, or the recommendation of any gentleman as a favour done him. I conceive that it is my duty to recommend that the names of those should be inserted in the Commission of the Peace who are duly qualified, and whose services in that capacity are necessary in that part of the country in which they reside, without any consideration of partiality or favour. But I cannot think it proper to recommend that a gentleman's name should be inserted in the Commission, who resides at Bath, only because he wishes it, and is qualified in respect of property, character, and attainments."[1]

Still dissatisfied, Mr. Fleming appears to have sent to the Duke a letter from Dr. Hook, in which the Doctor seems to have supposed that the Duke's refusal was based on the narrow ground of his friend being a clergyman. In reply,

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. i. 157.

after repudiating such a narrow view, the Duke gave his opinion of the inexpediency of such appointments, with his usual clearness.

"I doubt the expediency of such recommendations, unless in instances in which it is absolutely necessary, because I think the gentlemen of that profession have duties to perform of a higher description; and because I wish to keep them clear of the *broils* of the country, and of all participation in the execution of the criminal law, and of the unpopularity which most frequently and generally does attend the performance of the duty of a Justice of the Peace.

"The performance of this duty is not required from the clergy as it is from the proprietors of the country, but I do not object to recommend that the name of a clergyman should be inserted in the Commission when he is a proprietor, nor to insert the name of the clergyman of a parish in which there is no resident gentleman qualified or willing to undertake the duties of the office.

"I am certain that if Dr. Hook will look at the office of Justice of the Peace as I do, as an honourable burden imposed upon English gentlemen, and the character and office and duties of the clergy as I do, he will feel both the reason of the rule which I wish to lay down for my own guidance, and for the exception to it; and not consider it, as he appears to do, as a stigma upon a body for which he cannot entertain a higher respect and veneration than I do." [1]

Again, in 1826, the Duke had to deal with a peculiar case. Lord Carnarvon had recommended for the magistracy an Eurasian, who had married a lady of fortune in his neighbourhood, and was otherwise well qualified for the position. Finding from his inquiries that this gentleman showed his mixed birth in his features and colour, the Duke gave his reasons for hesitating in making the appointment, in a letter to Lord Carnarvon of Jan. 1826.

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. i. 162.

"In the eyes of some there may be no objection to make such a man a magistrate, but it appears to me to be necessary to consider not only the duties which he has to perform, and the importance that he should inspire respect among the inferior classes of society, but likewise that he is to be brought into intercourse and association with the principal noblemen and gentlemen of the county. I should then think that there ought to be either some very pressing necessity, or some strong claim from talents and qualifications, which should induce the Lord Lieutenant of a county to insert in the Commission of the Peace the name of a person against whom it is to be feared that a very general prejudice would exist.[1]

"If, then, your Lordship knows of anybody else that is fit for the situation, I should prefer him to Mr. ——; but if you should not, I will have his name inserted in the Commission."[2]

Careless as some persons in England may have been in their recommendations for the Bench, it was left for Ireland to exhibit the custom of keeping lithographed forms of such documents, with a blank to be filled up with the name of the gentleman to be recommended. "I don't wonder," wrote the Duke to Sir R. Peel, then Home Secretary, whom he asked to inquire into the matter, "at the Irish gentlemen being displeased with such a Lord Chancellor" if he acts on such documents.[3]

[1] In 1829, when he was under the impression that a bankrupt shopkeeper had been recommended for the magistracy in Ireland, the Duke again laid down the principle on which he always acted in such cases. "I recommend the magistrates," he wrote to Lord Francis L. Gower, the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, "for three districts in this country, the county of Hants, the Tower Hamlets (as Constable of the Tower), and the Cinque Ports (as Lord Warden). But I make it a rule never to recommend a gentleman to the Lord Chancellor whose presence and assistance on the Bench would not be agreeable to the other magistrates performing their duty in the same division or in the same petty sessions." Dec. 12, 1829.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 58.

[3] To Peel, Dec. 16, 1829.

The following contrast between English and foreign magistrates naturally finds a place here.

Foreign and English Unpaid Magistrates, 1830.

"These occurrences at Paris and Brussels afford us an instructive lesson in more ways than one. Our Radical Press teems with abuse of our unpaid magistracy; every mistake which may be made is exaggerated; and they are accused of every fault of which men in such stations can be deemed guilty; yet whoever heard of a mob in possession for three days of a town of England?[1] We have mobs; we have riots; we have broken windows and broken heads; and much injury done to and destruction of property. But we never failed to find the Justice of the Peace faithful to his trust, making the most energetic, the most moderate that circumstances will permit, but at the same time the most effectual and successful exertions to put an end to the mischief. At Brussels there was no public cause for complaint, no grievance of any description. The troops were in sufficient numbers, faithful and ready to perform their duty; but of all the paid magistrates at Brussels there was not one who would come forward and put himself at their head to prevent the disgraceful outrages committed in these *journées glorieuses*."[2]

[1] Memorandum on conduct of Louis Philippe, end of Aug. 1830. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii. 223.

[2] Within little more than a year—Oct. 1831—the Duke heard of Bristol—the third great city of the kingdom—being in the hands of the mob for three days, its gaols burnt, nearly a whole square of public offices and merchants' residences destroyed and mischief effected to the extent of more than £100,000. Yet the Duke was right even in this case as to the behaviour of the great unpaid, who, but for the unaccountable conduct of the commander of the small body of troops within its limits, and the deliberate apathy of the citizens and their refusal to comply with the exhortations and orders of the Mayor and magistrates, would have prevented those days of the disgrace.—See the "Burning of Bristol," *National Review*, Sept. 1884.

The Duke's Health in 1824.

Up to the year 1824 the Duke continued, without any suggestion of failing health, to discharge his various duties, and showed especial activity in his position as Master-General of Ordnance. In 1824, however, the newspapers had sensational paragraphs about his health—he had suffered from fits, faintings, and spasms, and if the daily journals were to be believed, he was equally afflicted in mind and body. Though caring nothing for newspaper reports, when an old personal friend wrote to him on the painful subject, the Duke told him the truth.

The Cause of the Duke's Illness in 1824.

"The newspapers have, as usual, misrepresented not only my case, of which, naturally enough, the editors could have known nothing, but the state of my health. The truth is, that I met with an accident in the treatment of a derangement in the ear, about two years ago, by which the nerves of my head were affected and injured. My stomach became consequently deranged, and although but little remains of the affection of the head, and all unpleasant symptoms have disappeared, my health is not yet entirely re-established. I don't feel any inconvenience from the remains of this accident, excepting that I don't sleep at night quite so well as I could wish, and I must add that the act of awaking is always attended by some feeling like a quickened circulation in the head, and a corresponding feeling in the stomach. There is really nothing like spasm in the case, nor ever has been; and I really believe that time alone and attention to my diet will do me any good. I have troubled you with this explanation in consequence of the interest which you are pleased to express about me; but I am so tired of being the subject of the comments of the newspapers of the day, that I request you will keep this communication to yourself.

"To T. Mulock, Esq., Oct. 1, 1824." [1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. ii. 312.

The Duke's private charities were liberal and unostentatious. He was not one of those who parade their charities in advertised subscription lists, or by cheques drawn on his bankers, and, like all charitable persons, was the victim of ingenious impostors. We owe the following amusing account of his method of action to the writer in the *Quarterly Review* of 1853, describing the contents of Apsley House.

He was equally reticent of letting the world know how he spent his money in his patronage of art; witness the way in which he paid Sir David Wilkie for the well-known picture of "The Chelsea Pensioners," and Burnet for that of its companion, "The Greenwich Veterans."

Incidental to the art treasures in Apsley House, we may introduce here a notice of his conduct in regard to the pictures captured in Joseph Buonaparte's carriage at the rout at Vittoria, though it refers to an earlier year.

The Duke's Private Charities.

"In his own room in Apsley House is a private box, now covered with a leather case, which he unlocked with an unduplicated key—it being the depository of a constant supply of bank-notes for those disbursements as to which he did not think proper to make 'Coutts's clerks' his confidants; and seldom the day passed when it was not opened to direct £5 and £10 notes to be sent in registered letters to never-failing applicants for relief. The Duke, a Samaritan, and not a Pharisee, did not blazon forth his name in printed subscription lists, or choose to be made a decoy—like many who have their reward—but had a heart open as charity, and a hand that knew not what the other gave. It was useless to prove to him that his bounty was often abused. He held that as much had been given to him by his country, much was required of him; and however close and circumspect as a paymaster of State money, he was generous to a fault with his own; nay, he was infinitely amused when ingenious tricks were played on him. He was fond of telling—and he did it at great length and infinite humour—the particular

case of the female Stanley, who, by a scheme followed up for seven years, contrived to do him of some £500. 'An orphan daughter of a soldier,' he would say—and we can only give an epitome—'petitioned for relief; I sent her £10. Soon comes a grateful application for a little aid to set up a shop—granted; after a time, trade very bad and some assistance begged—given; presently a prospect announced of a marriage with an industrious young man—wedding present of course; in due time a child born—baby linen provided; by-and-bye the infant sickens—apothecary settled with; next the poor sufferer dies—undertaker satisfied; then the heart-broken parents wish to emigrate—outfit and passage paid; after a few months letter from the United States that it does not answer—passage back paid, when an accidental discovery by the police brought an untimely end to my poor orphan.'"[1]

The Duke and Wilkie's "Chelsea Pensioners" and Burnet's "Greenwich Veterans."

"The Duke's true love for the *United Service* is marked by two pictures in this room (the back drawing-room)—'The Chelsea Pensioners,' and 'The Greenwich Veterans.' The Duke, who had such a sympathetic admiration for the singleness of purpose and precision of aim with which Wilkie went directly to his unpretentious themes, early as 1816 commissioned him to paint 'British Soldiers Regaling at Chelsea,' a suggestion which by-and-bye expanded into 'Reading the Waterloo Gazette.' The picture was only finished in 1822, for Wilkie, who worked slowly and painfully, spared neither labour of brain nor hand on such a subject for such a patron. When the 'Canny Dauvid,' as he honestly tells us, brought it in, with the bill charging 1260 pounds, *i.e.* 1200 guineas, his Grace, neither less a man of business nor less thrifty in phraseology than the Scottish Teniers, paid *instanter*, count-

[1] *Quarterly Review*, March, 1853—"Apsley House."

ing out the cash himself in bank-notes, and without adding one word expressive of satisfaction or otherwise. Only when the recipient interrupted him by the suggestion that a cheque might save trouble, the paymaster gave a smile, and said, 'Do you think I like Coutts's clerks always to know how foolishly I spend my money?' The Duke, however, who was an optimist, and whose opinion of his acquisitions always grew with possession, subsequently praised the picture much, regularly remarking that he himself had selected the site of the incident."—"The Duke consented to part with the original for three years, the term required by Mr. Burnet for the engraving, and on the Saturday before this term expired, walked into the publisher's shop and asked, 'Shall I have my picture back on Monday?' 'Yes, your Grace, and by twelve o'clock.' It was sent to time, whereupon the Duke, watch in hand, said, 'Now, Mr. Graves, you shall have any other picture of mine.'

"The companion work had for its inventor, painter, and engraver, Mr. Burnet—who, as Wilkie declined the subject, set up his easel at Greenwich itself, amid the living models of the hospital. When it was finished, our sailor King, William IV., had it brought to him; but on hearing that three years would be required to engrave it, replied 'That is a lifetime,' and sent it back. When the Duke bought the print of Mr. Graves the picture was suggested to him, and on being assured that its purchase by him would be very beneficial to the artist, he at once paid down five hundred guineas, the price asked. When Mr. Burnet thanked him for having placed it near Wilkie's, the Duke replied, 'Aye, and it will remain so, as I have made it one of the heirlooms;' and it may be added, the last order given by the Duke on leaving Apsley House, never to return, was to have this picture re-varnished."[1]

[1] Article on "Apsley House," *Quarterly Review*, March, 1853, pp. 454–5. In the collection at Apsley House is a portrait by Wilkie of Lady

The Spanish Pictures taken at Vittoria, 1814.

Among the paintings made heir-looms by the Duke are many of the Spanish pictures captured at Vittoria, from which, as will be seen from the following letter, he offered to return all that could be identified as having been taken by King Joseph from the Royal palaces.

To the Right Honourable Sir H. Wellesley, K.B.[1]

"Aire, March 16, 1814.

"MY DEAR HENRY,—The baggage of King Joseph, after the battle of Vittoria, fell into my hands, after having been plundered by the soldiers; and I found among it an imperial, containing prints, drawings, and pictures. From the cursory view which I took of them, the latter did not appear to me to be anything remarkable. There are certainly not among them any of the five pictures which I saw in Madrid by Rafael and others, and I thought more of the prints and drawings, all of the Italian school, which induced me to believe that the whole collection was robbed in Italy rather than in Spain. I sent them to England, and having desired that they should be put to rights, and those cleaned which

Lyndhurst in a Spanish mantilla, with the marks of a blow on the neck. The picture had been just sent in when the house was surrounded by the patriots bent on reform. Soon a stone, breaking a pane of glass, whizzed like a shot over the Duke's head and pierced the canvas. The Duke, without showing the least fear or concern, finished his letters, and while his servant sealed them up, walked to the windows, and seeing the multitudes round the statue of Achilles, simply remarked: "Why, they are going to pull that thing down!"

[1] Afterwards Lord Cowley—at this time our Minister in Madrid. The pictures are not of the value which the Duke supposed. How different was the conduct of Soult, who gleaned inestimable Murillos at Seville, and threatened to shoot two persons if they did not give him one of them, of which he used to say: "I value that picture much; it saved the lives of two estimable men."

required it, I have found that there are among them much finer pictures than I conceived there were; and as, if the King's palaces have been *robbed* of pictures, it is not improbable that some of his may be among them, and I am desirous of restoring them to His Majesty, I shall be much obliged to you if you will mention the subject to Don J. Luyando, and tell him that I request that a person may be fixed upon to go to London to see them, and to fix upon those belonging to His Majesty.[1]

"This may be done either now or hereafter, when I shall return to England, as may be most expedient. In the meantime, the best of them are in the hands of persons who are putting them to rights, which is an expense necessary for their preservation, whether they belong to His Majesty or not.[2]

"Yours most affectionately,

"WELLINGTON."

[1] It was stated in the *Guardian* of Jan. 7, 1887, in a notice of the Exhibition of Old Masters at the Royal Academy, that the Corregio ("The Agony in the Garden"—a replica of that in National Gallery) was returned to the Duke by King Ferdinand. In reality the whole were returned with one or two exceptions, and now form about nine-tenths of the collection at Apsley House.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series.

CHAPTER II.—1827–1839.

Libels—The Charge of Gambling—The Execution of François de la Tour—Selling Gunpowder to Russia—Threats of Personal Violence—The Charge of Irreligion—Chancellor of the University of Oxford—His Detractors in 1838—The Equestrian Statue in Hyde Park.

Libels on the Duke.

NATURALLY the Duke did not escape from the usual fate of all men of mark, that libellous gossip which is so ready to speak ill of such persons, and which masks itself under that modern father of scandal, "the highest authority." If those who professed to speak on this authority were to be credited, he was "the most ignorant and least qualified public man of his time, even in professional matters. In private life he had been accused of every vice and enormity, and when those who lived with him, and knew every action of his life and every thought, testified that these charges were groundless, the charge was brought that he was a man without religion."[1]

One of the most popular of the earlier charges was that he was an inveterate gambler—had so totally ruined himself by play, that a witness in court in a certain trial openly swore that he heard that the Duke was obliged to sell the offices in the Ordnance Department."[2] Though he had suffered much inconvenience from this charge, the Duke bore it in silence, until in a speech for the defence of a client who had been indicted as "a rogue and vagabond" under the Vagrant Act, Mr. Adolphus, the well-known Old Bailey barrister, declared that "the Duke, as a person who was known sometimes to play at hazard, might be committed as a rogue and

[1] The Duke to the Bishop of Exeter, Jan. 4, 1832. See *post*.

[2] The Duke to Mr. Adolphus, Sept. 17, 1823.

vagabond."[1] That this charge should be assumed to be true, and repeated by a person of such authority, convinced the Duke that he must repudiate it with as much publicity as it had been made. He wrote therefore to Mr. Adolphus assuring him of its entire falsehood.[2] The explanation was natural.

"The scope of his argument," replied Mr. Adolphus, "and the intended sense of his expression was, that if the Vagrant Act were to receive the extensive construction contended for, the most illustrious subject of the realm might be degraded to the condition of the most abject and worthless, for an act in itself indifferent, and which until the times had assumed a character of affected rigour, was considered rather as a proof of good society than as an offence against good order. Mr. Adolphus is, however, perfectly sensible that his illustration in his Grace's person was in all respects improper, and, considering the matters to which his Grace has adverted, peculiarly unfortunate."[3]

The Duke readily accepted the explanation, begging Adolphus not to avail himself of any opportunity of correcting the bad impression until he had consulted the law officers of the Crown on a further paragraph in the same paper referring to the matter.

In 1826, the Duke had to meet the serious charge, made in the *Journal des Tribuneaux* of Paris, of having hanged one François de la Tour as a partisan, three days after the Convention for putting an end to hostilities had been signed by him and the French marshals.

"I cannot conceive," he wrote to Lord Granville, our Ambassador at Paris (Nov. 21, 1826), "upon what this story can be founded. I know I saved many Frenchmen from the vengeance of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and disgraced

[1] Reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of Sept. 12, 1823.

[2] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. ii. 130, 133, and 135.

[3] The Duke in his letter to Mr. Adolphus reminded him of the statement made in open court of his sale of offices in the Ordnance Department.

whole corps of the former particularly, in order to prevent these acts of vindictive retaliation, and I cannot recollect to have had occasion for even one act of severity, much less such an act as that imputed."

In a letter to Lord Granville, three days later, the Duke states that he has looked up his papers of the date of the transaction, and found that—

"La Tour was executed, not for being a partisan, but for various acts of robbery, and plunder, and violence, upon the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Vic, committed by him as chief of a banditti, under pretence of collecting supplies for a body of partisans. The complaints originated of him and his banditti, from the magistrates of Vic, the witnesses were numerous, all was conducted according to French law. That the execution took place by the Duke's authority was true, as there was no other at that time in the department of the Garonne."[1]

Perhaps the most villainous imputation on the Duke's probity and honour was that in the *Times* of Nov. 14, and the *Englishman* of Nov. 19, 1828, that he had authorised the sale of gunpowder from the Government stores to Russia during her war with Turkey. That it was a gross libel on him as the first Minister of the Crown, and calculated to provoke a rupture between this country and Turkey and a violation of neutrality, Mr. Gurney, whose opinion he took, agreed; but, as it was on him as a Minister and not as a private person, suggested a reference to the law officers of the Crown. The opinion of such eminent lawyers as Sir C.

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. iii. 454, 467.

In the first letter to Lord Granville the Duke complains of M. Joubaud, a Dutch lawyer whom the Duke had employed to prosecute a libeller in the Netherlands, who had accused him of having made use of his influence as Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies to forward some dirty job about a gentleman in the West Indies, and who charged him £500 for his services —"More," as the Duke said, "than all the Dutch lawyers in the Netherlands gain in any year." Joubaud had apparently again pressed his services on Lord Granville.

Wetherell and Sir N. Tindal is worthy of being inserted as a model of cautious and sound advice.[1]

Threats of Personal Violence, 1830–32.

The threats of personal violence against the Duke, at any rate on the part of Englishmen, date from the Reform Agitation, in 1830. Did space admit, it would be interesting to give the details of his preparations for the defence of

[1] *Opinion of C. Wetherell, A.G.; N. Tindal, S.G.*—"Agree with Gurney, but indictment or information in such a case most carefully to be considered. But we think it would be very difficult to persuade a jury that the writer of these paragraphs did *seriously* and *deliberately* intend to raise such a grave charge against the Duke. We are led to think that a jury (however improper the paragraphs themselves) would be disposed to consider them as not connected with any such serious design. The language and general tenour of them seems to be so framed and mixed up in context with other speculative matters under the head of 'Money Market and City Intelligence,' as to induce a notion which a jury in a case of this kind would be much disposed to adopt, namely, that the alleged rumour was not brought forward by the editor with the real view of *asserting* it to be *the fact* or for the purpose of a personal attack on the Duke. And we are the more induced to think that a jury would adopt this idea because in the same paper, the *Times* of Oct. 14, at the close of the leading article, there is a passage referring to the *City article* which we conceive might be considered as giving a qualification to the passage under the head of 'City News,' and raising a ground to contend that it did not proceed from that offensive intention of false and deliberate assertion which is so essential to ensure conviction for libel. We think also that the existing state of circumstances, in which Russia, France, and our own Government are placed with regard to Turkey, would afford a plausible topic by which an advocate might influence a jury not to ascribe to these paragraphs the character of a personal libel on the Duke, but to class them with that description of speculations or rumours respecting the possible events of the war to which we have alluded, and for which, however improperly, so large a range has with impunity been assumed by the Press.

"And upon the whole, after having fully considered the subject, recollecting also that the Duke, as Minister, ought not to prosecute if there exists the least hazard of obtaining a conviction, we are very decidedly of opinion that it would not be advisable that any information should be filed in the name of the Attorney-General." 'Wellington Despatches,' vol. v. 185, 230.

Apsley House against the Reform mobs, and the history of the iron shutters to his windows, which the Duke retained long after the opinion of the so-called public had changed to respectful reverence.[1] It must suffice to exhibit the coolness and contempt with which he treated the threats of insult and injury of which his friends gave him warning.

In reply to a letter of the Reverend the author of 'The Subaltern,' warning him of an intention to attack him on his road from London to Walmer Castle, in Nov. 1831, he wrote:—

"It is my duty to go to Walmer and to Dover, and I am not to be prevented from doing so either by threats of insult or injury. What I always do upon these cases is to give information to the magistrate. It is his duty to protect all His Majesty's subjects, particularly those acting under the King's authority, and even to take precautions for their protection if necessary.

"It is my opinion that these secret informants who will not, and possibly dare not, come forward with their information, do more harm than good. There is a perpetual gossip going on in the public-houses upon all sorts of plans of mischief. Is it quite certain that these informants do not suggest the very plans of which they give information?

"I intended to be at Walmer this night, but a letter I sent to announce my arrival did not go. I shall therefore set off to-morrow morning, and I hope to arrive early in the day. I suspect that those who will attack me on the road will come rather the worst out of the contest, if there should be one."[2]

[1] Precautions for defending Apsley House, Nov. 9, 1830. They amount to this—that the mob on assembling should be warned to go elsewhere—armed men to be placed at each window—gates of stable to be well locked and secured—nobody to fire unless gates broken open or any person should enter the garden over the rails or by pulling them down—then every effort to be made to prevent the approach to or entry into the house. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii. 354.

[2] In a letter to the Deputy Governor of Dover Castle of Nov. 8, stating his intention of going to Walmer that day, the Duke repeats his

Again, on receiving from the Home Secretary (Lord Melbourne) an anonymous letter giving information of an intention of a party of smugglers and others to attack Dover Castle, and seize the arms there deposited, he replied:—

"I received this morning your Lordship's letter of the 11th inst., which I return. I received some time ago a similar letter from the same person, of which I took no notice. I gave directions that attention might be paid to the performance of the duties by the troops stationed in Dover Castle. I repeat these directions this day.

"In the existing state of excitement there is a good deal of gossip about schemes of this description, and even of some more practicable, in all the public-houses of the country, which such persons as the writer are ready enough to repeat. I conceive that when a fact of this kind is stated, so much attention ought to be paid to it as to see that those concerned are on their guard and perform their duty punctually. It would not be advisable to seek for, or desirable to know, the persons who talk in this manner.[1]

"WELLINGTON."

On the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, 1832, when returning from a visit to the Mint, the Duke was followed by a yelling and hooting mob from the Tower, through the Minories to Fenchurch Street, where an attempt was made to drag him from his horse. In Holborn the mob, greatly increased, commenced to throw stones and filth at him, as he rode to the chambers of Sir C. Wetherell, in Lincoln's Inn, and thence reached home in safety.

In reply to a letter of a Mr. Adams, of May 17, 1832, entreating him "to guard against any unmanly attack upon his person from the momentary violence of public feeling,"—

statements made in the letter of same date to Mr. Gleig. He, however, cautions the Government against letting the magistrates or any others know at what hour he proposes to arrive at Walmer Castle.

[1] To Lord Melbourne, Nov. 13, 1831. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series.

"The Duke," he replied, "has received your letter, and is very grateful for the advice that he should beware of attack upon his person. The Duke has the firmest reliance that the law is able to protect him. The Duke knows of old that assassins and those who employ them are not the boldest of mankind."[1]

The following account of the madman's interview with the Duke, to which no date is given by the relator, may be appropriately inserted here.

The Duke and the Madman.

"The madman once got access to his library, and signified his intention of killing him, in obedience to a divine command. The Duke just looked up from his desk. 'Are you in a hurry? for I have many letters to write. Could you come again in an hour?' The maniac, taken aback by the Duke's coolness, retired, to be taken up.

"Again, when the Duke was warned by his solicitor that another madman intended to attempt to take his life—'Never mind,' said the Duke, 'he won't hurt me.' 'Ah!' said his informant, 'but he is going to speak to the Queen, as you won't see him.' 'Oh!' rejoined the Duke, 'then give instant information to the Secretary of State.'[2]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, viii. 334, *et seq.*

[2] In the spring of 1830 he had been much annoyed on his way between Downing Street and Parliament Street by an apparently eccentric person who kept alongside of him, jostled him, and asked him some question as to the hour at which St. James's Park would be closed. "All this time," wrote the Duke to Sir R. Birnie, the magistrate at Bow Street, "he was inconveniently close to me, and all but jostling me—so much so that I told him that I could hear him and that there was no occasion for his approaching so near. When he arrived at the turning to Westminster Bridge, I told him that was the way to Lambeth (where he professed to want to go before getting through the park). He appeared to be becoming more violent, when the police officer came and took him away."—To Sir R. Birnie, March 4, 1830. 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vi. 526.

"Apsley House," *Quarterly Review*, March 1853, p. 482.

Of the Duke and the iron shutters at Apsley House in the days of his returning popularity, Mr. Raikes furnishes a most characteristic anecdote.

The Iron Shutters at Apsley House.

"I was in that year (1832) at a ball given by the Duke at Apsley House to King William IV. and his Queen, when the mob were very unruly and indecent in their conduct at the gates; and on the following days they proceeded to such excesses that they broke the windows of Apsley House, and did much injury to his property. It was then that he caused to be put up those iron blinds to his windows, which remain to this day as a record of the people's ingratitude.

"Some time afterwards, when he had regained all his popularity, and began to enjoy that great and high reputation which he now, it is to be hoped, will carry to the grave, he was riding up Constitution Hill in the park, followed by an immense mob, who were cheering him in every direction; he heard it all with the most stoical indifference, never putting his horse out of a walk, or seeming to regard them, till he leisurely arrived at Apsley House, when he stopped at the gate, turned round to the rabble, and then, pointing with his finger to the iron blinds which still closed the windows, he made them a sarcastic bow, and entered the court without saying a word." [1]

The Charge of Irreligion, 1832.

So varied were the scandalous imputations on the Duke's moral character, that even the Bishop of Exeter (Phillpots), his old and esteemed friend, to whom the Duke was indebted for numerous suggestions and much historical information on the question of the Catholic claims, assumed the truth of the charge of irreligion, from the frequent non-attendance of the Duke on public worship in London, to which he was compelled by his late illness and growing deafness. In

[1] Raikes' 'Journal,' iv. 303–4.

Jan. 1832, this prelate addressed to him an earnest appeal that "by attending God's public service he would do spiritual good to men, in showing, before the world, that he gloried in being God's servant, by setting an example, the value of which would be in proportion to his worldly renown."

In reply, after thanking the Bishop for his letter, as highly creditable to him, most suitable for him in those times to write to any individual, and more particularly to him, and explaining that his illness was not of the nature asserted by the newspapers, the Duke continues:

The Duke to the Bishop of Exeter.

"I don't make much show or boast on any subject; I never have done so. The consequence is, that in these days of boasting, I have been set down, from time to time, as the most ignorant and least qualified public man of my time, and this, even upon professional matters, upon which it might be imagined that, from the commencement of my career, I had been sufficiently tried.

"Then in private life I have been accused of every vice and enormity; and when those who live with me, and know every action of my life and every thought, testify that such charges are groundless, the charge is then brought, 'Oh, he is a man without religion.' As I said before, I am not ostentatious about anything. I am not a Bible Society man upon principle, and I make no ostentatious display either of charity or of other Christian virtues, though I believe that, besides enormous sums given to hundreds and thousands who have positive claims upon me, there is not a charity of any description within my reach to which I am not a contributor, although I am convinced, and indeed know, that many of them are gross jobs.

"The next objection is, he does not go to church. Whenever and wherever my presence at church can operate as an example, I do go. I never am absent from Divine Service

at Walmer, or when I am in Hampshire, or any place in the country where my presence or absence could be observed. But it must be recollected that some ten years ago I met with an accident that affected my hearing, and, in point of fact, I never hear more than what I know by heart of the Church Service, and never one word of the sermon. Then observe that during at least eight months of the year I should have to sit for two hours every week, uncovered, in a cold church. This would certainly have the effect of depriving me of the sense of hearing altogether. Some time I did attend Divine Service early in the morning at St. James's, which lasted only an hour, but I found it too cold for me; and it is true I do not attend Divine Service in any parish church in London, but excepting that duty, which I never fail to perform in the country, I don't know of any that I leave unperformed.

"There is room for amendment in every man, in me as well as in others; and there is nothing better calculated to inspire the desire to attain such amendment than such a letter as that from your Lordship.

"In answering it as I have done, I hope you will believe that I don't reject the advice. On the contrary, I thank you for it, and I assure you that it will not be thrown away upon me. But if you have believed what you have read and heard of me, I must tell you that those reports do not do me justice."[1]

Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1834.

In 1834, on the death of Lord Grenville, the Duke was proposed, and on the 30th of March unanimously elected, as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Of this incident Mr. Croker and Mr. Raikes furnish us with amusing anecdotes. Anything like display was entirely out of character with the Duke's life and habits.

"I am the Duke of Wellington," he wrote to Croker, who

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, viii. 147, Jan. 6, 1832.

appears to have suggested a State entry, "and must do as the Duke of Wellington does. I intend to send a footman, a coachman, and horses to Oxford. As for a magnificent entry, &c., I must enter that city as I have always entered that and others—as an individual. I have not such an article as a post-chaise, or any carriage except my travelling carriage and a town coach, which would be ridiculous to send."

How the entry was accomplished his travelling companion tells us.

"I came down," says Croker in a letter to his wife (June 9), "with the Duke, and we were met out of town by about one hundred young men on horseback, of whom forty passed us in our britchka and pair, not suspecting the Duke in such an equipage. At last I saw what was happening, and I stopped and turned the tide, and so we came in, accompanied by sixty or seventy. I could not make him take off his hat to any one, not even to the ladies; he kept saluting like a soldier. I, however, made him show himself occasionally, and take notice here and there, but he is a sad hand at popularity hunting."

"In the theatre, during the shouts that followed Arnould's prize poem, where he alluded to the Duke having been the sole conqueror of Buonaparte, he sat like a statue.[1] At last he took some notice, and motioned with his cap for the reader to go on, on which the applause broke out again, and only ceased for want of power in the men." [2]

We may conclude the description of this incident by Mr. Raikes's report of the method by which the Duke surmounted

[1] The "Hospice of St. Bernard." The lines referring to the Duke were—

"He whom a world in arms could not subdue,
Bent to thy genius, chief of Waterloo."

[2] Croker's 'Diary,' June 3 and 9, 1834.

The portrait of the new Chancellor in "The Theatre," when pronouncing the words admitting the Honorary Doctors to their degrees, which we reproduce, was sketched by Mrs. Lawrence, the wife of a fellow of St. John's College, a niece of Lady Morgan's. See *frontispiece*.

the difficulty of making a speech in Latin at his inauguration.

How the Duke's Latin Speech at Oxford was written, 1834.

"When I went to Oxford as Chancellor, I was very much puzzled when they told me I was to make a Latin speech at the inauguration. Now any speech is difficult, but a Latin one was impossible: so in this dilemma I applied to my physician, as most likely from his prescriptions to know Latin, and he made me a speech which answered very well. I believe it was a very good speech, but I did not know much of the matter."[1]

The system of detraction had at last ceased among the Duke's own countrymen and been succeeded by a respect amounting almost to idolatry. Not so, however, among the French, who could not forget his victories over their armies, and appear never to have ceased from trying to depreciate his acts. The following extract from a letter to Mr. Croker in 1838, relative to the intrigues of one of the suite of the Duc de Nemours on his visit to England about this time, completes the painful subject of the libels to which the Duke was subjected.

On His Detractors, 1838.

"I have not heard of the person you mention. He is not announced as a part of the suite of the Duc de Nemours. But I conclude he is one of the worthies so announced, and who is received here with smiles in all our houses, and bows and smiles and makes fine speeches in return, and then writes a letter to which you refer, under a feigned name—that is to say, feigned to those who are the objects of his observations, but clearly indicating the writer to the public in France and eventually to ourselves. As for my part, I consider such an affair not worth the trouble of writing even this note. I have been abused, vilified, slandered since I was a boy; and

[1] Raikes, Walmer, 1843-4, p. 296.

I don't believe there is a living creature who thinks the worse of me for all the horrible crimes of which I have been accused, and which to this moment remain unanswered. I would much prefer to get rid of the rheumatism in my shoulders and neck than I would of all the libels of all the Jacobins, Republicans, Buonapartists, Radicals, Reformers, and Whigs in all her Majesty's dominions, including her ancient kingdom of France, and her colonies in North America."[1]

The history of the Equestrian Statue at Hyde Park Corner forms the next incident in the Duke's private life which calls for notice. As the miserable dispute which arose in connection with it ran on even to the present time, it will be convenient to somewhat break the chronological order of these recollections by grouping the evidence in the case from the date of the first suggestion of the memorial to its late removal to Aldershot.

The Equestrian Statue at Hyde Park Corner (1838 to 1885).

In the year 1838 a proposal, which had been for some time afloat, was so far matured that subscriptions were invited for raising an Equestrian Statue of the Duke in commemoration of his past services to the nation. Matthew Wyatt, a sculptor unfavourably known by his pig-tail statue of George III. in Cockspur Street, was selected for its execution by the promoters of the scheme—"a bad architect and a bad sculptor," wrote Peel,[2] who declined to have anything to do

[1] To J. W. C., July 2, 1838.

[2] Peel suggested that the committee should pay Wyatt the sum he claimed (£5000) for the black marble statue of a favourite Newfoundland dog of the eccentric Earl Dudley, which the Earl had refused to take, and so be quit of their bargain with Wyatt. The following extract from the *Standard* newspaper on May 7, 1887, describing an art sale, gives the following account of the ultimate fate of this piece of sculpture: "Lastly came a fine piece of sculpture, Bashaw, a Newfoundland dog, in marble, on a pedestal enriched with pietra dura fruits, in relief, executed for the late Lord Dudley (the first Lord Dudley), by Mr. M. C. Wyatt, 180 guineas (Smith). This work was never delivered, and has been the cause of a lawsuit."

with what he regarded as a cut-and-dried job in Wyatt's favour. Such, however, at that time was the feeling of respect for the Duke that, despite all drawbacks, the subscription was filled to overflowing. "We had too much money," wrote Lord Aberdeen, "and are a little like the artist who gilded his Helen. Not being able to make the Duke grand, we made him big." Then came the question where was the monster to be erected. Decimus Burton's beautiful arch into Hyde Park was too weak to bear the load; in the parade ground at the Horse Guards no sufficient foundation could be found.[1] At last the arch leading into Constitution Hill was selected in 1846, and there in due time the statue was erected.

No sooner was it placed, even before the whole of the scaffolding was removed, than the appropriateness of the position and the ungainliness of the statue were fiercely attacked. A huge board with a caricature of the statue was placed near the arch to incite public opinion, and Lord Morpeth, acting for the Government of the day, selected a few Royal Academicians to condemn it. It had been placed there against the opinion of the Government, and it is to be feared that ill-will to the Duke, quite as much as the interests of art, prompted them to endeavour to obtain its removal.

The Duke would not interfere. From the day that the Duke of Rutland and the committee informed him of their intention to raise the statue, "he constituted himself a *caput mortuum*" in all things relating to it. He contented himself in expressing his gratitude and thanks for their kindness, and giving the sculptor the necessary sittings for the statue. Such he remained through the angry discussion, until the influence of the Crown was invoked in the case.

On the 10th of November Lord Morpeth informed the Duke that the Queen and Prince Albert had been to see the statue and had authorised its removal, and that the Government had permission to signify this decision to the sub-committee. The interference of the Sovereign, who had originally approved the site, naturally weighed with the Duke, whose principle of action was duty to his Sovereign

[1] This site had been previously tested for the Duke of York's pillar, and found unfit.

and the State. "I think," he wrote to Croker on the 21st Nov., "that the interference of Her Majesty in the case makes a remarkable difference in my position. I can be dead upon the affair as long as it is a mere party business, and it is best possibly that I should. But when the Sovereign, having acquiesced in the selection of the arch for the pedestal, orders that the statue placed on its pedestal should be removed therefrom, I think that it would be scarcely respectful for me to continue to say *I am dead.* Do as you please."[1]

The party spirit shown by the "Removers," naturally evoked a similar spirit in the Duke's friends and "Arch" or "No Arch" became a Ministerial question. In the movement thus caused, the Duke took no part, giving his reasons in the following letter to Croker on the 14th June 1847.[2]

"My dear Croker,—It has always been my practice, and is my invariable habit to say nothing about myself or my own actions. More than forty years ago Mr. Pitt observed that I talked as little of myself or of my own acts as if I had been an assistant-surgeon in the army; and from the year 1838 to the present moment I have considered it most becoming to avoid to interfere respecting a statue of which the professed object is to commemorate byegone transactions in which I had borne a part. I follow the habit of avoiding to talk of myself and of what I have done, with the exception only of occasions when I am urging upon modern contemporaries measures which they don't like, and when I tell them I have some experience, and have had some success in these affairs, and feel they would experience the benefit of attending to my advice, I never talk of myself. These are the reasons for which they think that I don't care what they do with the statue. But they must be idiots to suppose it possible that a man who is working day and night without any object in view excepting the public benefit, will not be sensible of a disgrace inflicted upon him by the Sovereign

[1] Croker, vol. iii. 124.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii. 128.

and Government whom he is serving. The ridicule will be felt if nothing else is. This last would have been vastly aggravated if I had not cautiously avoided to take any part in the affair since the year 1838."[1]

The discussion waxed angry and friends were whipped up for a possible division in the House of Commons, though Lord Strangford was no doubt correct in saying that "he doubted whether the Duke would greatly relish a parliamentary triumph, and to have his name dragged forward in opposition to what is always with him a religion—the wishes of the Queen." The defeat of the Cabinet appeared so imminent, that, on the 10th of July, 1847, a private communication and negotiation between Lord John Russell and Lord G. Bentinck took place, when it was agreed, that "the equestrian statue should remain where it was, unless the Duke should intimate that its removal to some other place would give him pleasure, and that the Duke declining to give any opinion was to be considered as dissenting." Of course the Duke as before was silent, and the ugly looking business was at an end, much to the disappointment of Lord George and his friends who had anticipated a defeat of the Ministry. That the Duke felt the threatened removal as an indignity, is certain, and it may be true, as Lord Aberdeen told Bishop Wilberforce, that Brougham was right in stating that, "in case it was taken down, he would resign his

[1] In another letter to Mr. Croker of Oct. 31, 1848, the Duke spoke strongly of the evident party feeling of the Government, and of Lord Morpeth's attempt "to swamp the statue in Parliament," and his mode of obtaining the opinions of the Royal Academicians; and in another letter of 19th Nov., he repeats his reply to Lord Morpeth. "In this," he says, "I observed that it has happened to many men to have their statues removed from the pedestals on which they were placed while still alive, but that I should be the first instance of the statue of a man removed in his lifetime from the pedestal on which it was placed before it could be well seen; and I added that I was sensible that a statue to commemorate the acts of a man in byegone transactions was quite distinct from the acts themselves, and that excepting on account of the feelings of many to whom I was grateful for the honour in which they intended to manifest that they held me, I should be indifferent as to the fate of the statue in question."—Croker, vol. iii. 123.

commission." Not so, however, that he said, "I fear I cannot resign the Peerage." Brougham himself was the only one who ever talked of doing such a thing.[1]

And there the statue remained for six and thirty years until the demands for increased facilities for the enormous traffic from the north-western to the southern quarters of the metropolis, due to the railways, forced upon the Government of the day the necessity for the removal of the arch on which it stood in order to improve the roadways into and by the side of the Green and St. James's Parks. Then at last the statue was removed and the arch itself, and for many a month the New Wellington Place, as the improved opening was to be styled, was disfigured with the body of the horse and its rider propped up on stout poles, whilst friends and enemies disputed about its future. A few were for casting it into the melting-pot, but the majority did not forget that it had been the gift of the nation, and intended to be a perpetual reminder of the man who had devoted his life to the cause of duty. Headed by the Prince of Wales, a movement was made to raise funds to replace it near its old spot with a more appropriate statue, and the Government after many a sharp struggle in May 1884 persuaded the House of Commons to supplement the public subscription by a vote of £2000. The discarded statue, it was at length decided, should be removed to the camp at Aldershot, at the cost of the nation. There at last it was moved piecemeal, and there its pieces lay again month after month until a position was determined on. At last in the summer of 1885, a place was found—a mound hard by the Royal Pavilion, and the statue found a fit resting place.[2]

[1] Bishop Wilberforce's 'Diary,' Oct. 17, 1858.

[2] During the discussions in the House of Commons in April, 1885, it came out that the Government at first thought of replacing the statue on the arch, when moved to its new position, but were met by a decision of the Royal Academicians that a statue on an arch was contrary to every canon of taste. Then they thought of the Park side of the Horse Guards —years before proved to be unfit for the formation of such a foundation as the huge statue and its pedestal required. Then the Prince of Wales came forward with his proposal of Aldershot, and carried the day. In the previous discussions in the House of Lords, it was stated on the authority of the late Duke, that his father never gave the artist a sitting, and that Copenhagen had died three years before the statue was thought of; but

The statue in New Wellington Place is in progress; the model by Mr. Boehm has been approved and the order for its casting given, and also of the four figures that are to grace the corners of the pedestal. "These, representing the four nationalities, are of soldiers of the 1st Guards (British Grenadiers), 42nd Highlanders, the Inniskilling Dragoons, and a sergeant of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers."[1]

---

that to judge from the only likeness of that animal, in Lord Penrhyn's possession, it was faithfully reproduced. As to sittings to the artist, see previous letter of the Duke to Mr. Croker, p. 336.

[1] Letter to the Author from J. G. Boehm, R.A., April 27, 1888. Mr. Boehm also states that it is expected that the whole memorial will be completed by the end of August.

CHAPTER III.—1839–1852.

The Duke's failing Health—His Health in his seventy-second Year—His daily Life at Walmer Castle—His early Rising—Handwriting in 1851, Facsimile of Letter to the Chaplain of the King of Hanover—His Courtesy and Fair Dealing—The Queen's Visit to Louis Philippe at Eu—Visit of the Czar to England, and suspected Plot for his Assassination—The Duke's last Year—The last Visit to Mr. Croker—The Duke's last Moments, and Cause of his Death—His Funeral.

The Duke's Failing Health.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1839, the health of the Duke caused alarm to his relatives and friends: a serious, "though happily, temporary, attack of an epileptic character having been brought on by over abstinence," in doing what the Duke called "starving a cold." The details of this seizure were communicated by Mr. Croker to the King of Hanover in the following letter.[1]

The Duke's Serious Illness, Nov. 20, 1839.

"The facts are these, the Duke had been uncommonly well for some time, but had been exceedingly abstemious. He is always very moderate, but of late he had become over abstemious, without diminishing his usual exertions, either of mind or body. Last week he had been what he called 'starving a cold,' but was so well on Monday that he went

[1] In a letter to Mr. Croker of May 9, 1838, who had written to him that he was getting deaf, the Duke said, "I am very sorry that you are deaf. I have been very bad lately. The cause is a deficiency of secretion in the ear. I suffer torments in the House of Lords, at meetings, &c., &c., where I am obliged to talk after listening, and endeavouring to hear and understand what others say. I should not mind if I had only to understand the bawling of children (his grandchildren). However, I hope I am getting better."

to hunt, and on coming home between four and five, he went into his room, when about five he was heard to fall from his chair in a fit of insensibility, in which he continued about forty-five minutes, when he spontaneously recovered both sense and speech, and desired that some company that was expected to dinner should not be put off, but that Col. Munro would do the honours for him. Next day he would have got up as usual if the doctor would have allowed him. Dr. McArthur, when pressed by my friend as to the real nature of the disease, said there was nothing of paralysis in it, but that if he were forced to give it a name he would call it epilepsy, though even of that, some essential symptoms were wanting. He had a similar attack last February."[1]

A similar attack appears to have occurred in the following year. In the March of that year Lord Hertford told Mr. Raikes that the Duke had a second attack of a serious nature, but was happily recovering from it, though the convulsions gave great alarm.

"He never, however," the diarist records, "lost his mind, though he did his speech." In the next year "he had an attack of giddiness whilst attending the House of Lords, had to be helped out and taken home in Lord Brougham's carriage, here he remained for some hours in an alarming state, but before eleven o'clock he retired to rest, and was fast asleep, when the accounts came away. It is really surprising that notwithstanding his previous warning, the Duke will persist in taking so little care of life which is so precious to this country. He had dined hastily at two o'clock, and went down to the House in an open carriage, with the weather at five or six degrees of frost, which naturally interrupted the course of digestion, and the attack was evidently caused by this as was the preceding one last year."[2]

[1] J. W. C. to King of Hanover, Nov. 21, 1839.—Croker, vol. ii. 356.

[2] Raikes's 'Diary,' under dates March 20, 1840, and Feb. 8, 1841, vol. iv. 123.

Such, however, was his natural strength, that previously to the latter attack, Mr. Croker could make the following report of his health in his 72nd year.

The Health of the Duke in his 72nd Year.

"I called on the Duke of Wellington, whom I had not seen for some time—his looks were better than when I had been with him last, and his voice and manner very clear and firm. The only symptoms that I could see of age or anything like infirmity about him, was the kind of exaggeration with which he stated his perfection of health. 'You know,' he said 'I have never been well since that fellow poured liquid fire into my ear, and electricized not only the nerves of the ear, but all the adjacent parts, and the injury extended in all directions, sometimes to the head and then down to the stomach, then to the shoulders and then back again to the head and so on; but I outlived it, and have in fact worn it out, and I am now, thank God, as well as ever I was, in all respects. I eat as well, I sleep as well, I walk and ride as well, I hunt and shoot as well as I have done these twenty years.'

"I hear that even his particular friends who have any business with him, begin to find the Duke restless and excitable. I dare say it is so, for he seemed profoundly sensitive as to the public prospects, and I observed that while conversing he walked more about the room than he used to do. He wants just three months of being seventy-two, the only fact which he seems practically to forget."[1]

After a space of two years Mr. Raikes gives the following details of the Duke's daily life at Walmer.

The Duke's Life at Walmer Castle, 1843.

"The Duke is certainly growing old and feeble, but he

[1] Croker's 'Note Book,' Jan. 30, 1841, vol. ii. 401-2.

never will allow any one to do anything for him. Greville (Algernon) says, 'If he drops his hat, I should never think of stooping to pick it up—he would not like it.' He will get up himself to ring the bell, and I observe at night when we retire to bed, he will light your flat candlestick and give to you. His politeness is unceasing to all; and here in his own house it is only to be equalled by his kindness and cordiality. He rises very early: perhaps does not give himself time for sufficient sleep: is always a very long time dressing, as he shaves himself, though his hand is unsteady, and never will allow a servant to assist him.

"He always rises at six o'clock, and takes walks on the platform, and then returns to his room to dress. Remarkably neat in his appearance, always wearing a white waistcoat and trousers, under which is a good guard of fleecy hosiery against the cold, and a blue riding coat in the morning. At ten he appears at breakfast; he seems to eat heartily and makes messes of rusks and bread in his tea, never meat or eggs. He converses the whole time, and then retires saying, 'Well, we shall dine at seven.' He remains in his room writing letters and despatches and making notes, some rather droll and concise, on the different letters to be answered by his secretary in his name, and Greville's hand is so like to his, that few people can distinguish the difference. Greville showed me one from Fitzroy Somerset with details about Ireland (*re* O'Connell's Repeal meetings). His note on the margin was, 'If I am to manage the affairs of Ireland, I had better go there myself.'

"About two o'clock he generally gets on his horse and gallops over the downs, or perhaps to Dover, where he is very active in attending to his business as Warden of the Cinque Ports. He seems to be worshipped all over the country, for he is very charitable and always ready to do good to his neighbour. In a shop at Dover is to be seen, framed and glazed, a short note which he once wrote to the

owner ordering fifty yards of flannel—it is kept as a precious relic.

"On his return he walks again on the platform, till he enters to dress for dinner, at which he also eats with appetite; mixing meat, rice and vegetables in a mess with which he fills his plate: he drinks very little wine, and during the evening two decanters of iced water are placed by his side, which are generally empty when he goes to bed.

"When we were only men, he dressed in boots, but when there are ladies (and when only my daughter) always wears shoes, silk stockings, with his star and garter.[1] He is exceedingly polite to all and particularly attentive to women: He is *La Vieille Court personifiée.* Although still active, yet age has made some havoc with his frame; his hair is quite white, but not scanty, he is very deaf with the left ear, and when left to himself, or engaged in thought, he stoops very much, and his head seems to droop on his breast; but the instant any subject is started that interests him, his eye brightens, his head is raised, he puts his hand to his right ear to catch the sound and enters into the argument with all the spirit and judgment and penetration which form so striking a part of his character."[2]

His Early Rising.

"When the Duke, who is known to be an early riser, was

[1] Wellington's attention to his dress, even during the wear and tear of his campaigns, is amusingly told by Mr. Larpent: "In one instance Lord Wellington is not like Frederick the Great. He is remarkably neat, and most particular in his dress. He is well made, and knows it, and is willing to set off to the best what Nature has bestowed. In short, like every great man, present or past, without exception, he is vain. He cuts the skirts of his own coats shorter, to make them look smarter, and only a short time since, I found him discussing the cut of his half-boot, and suggesting alterations to his servant, when I went in upon business."—'Larpent,' vol. i. 6.

[2] Raikes, 1843, vol. iv. 310–317, 318–319.

last at Windsor Castle, upon a visit to Her Majesty, the following incident occurred, affording another proof of the strict military discipline observed and practised on all occasions by his Grace. One morning between seven and eight the Duke, accompanied by his youngest son, Lord Charles Wellesley (who was then in waiting as one of the equerries upon Her Majesty), walked from the castle into the quadrangle, which he was about to leave by the iron gate near the entrance to the State apartments, to proceed to the North Terrace. The Duke and his son were, however, stopped by the sentry (one of the 72nd Highlanders) stationed at this spot, who stated that his instructions were not to suffer any person to pass from out of the quadrangle at that early hour. Lord Charles immediately stepped up to the soldier on guard and said, 'You surely can't know who this is—it is the Duke of Wellington, my father.' His Grace immediately responded, 'Pooh, pooh, nonsense, let the sentry perform his duty,' and returned to the castle until the hour arrived at which the sentry could suffer them to pass out through the gate in question."[1]

As a specimen of the Duke's handwriting in almost the last year of his life, I insert here a facsimile of the following letter which, in November 1851, he wrote to the Rev. C. Allix Wilkinson who, by the order of the blind King of Hanover, whose chaplain he was, as he had been of King Ernest, had written to the Duke announcing the old King's death.

The Duke's Letter to the King of Hanover, 1851.

"London, Nov. 22, 1851.

"SIR,—I have the honour of receiving your letter of the 18th instant, written by command of his Majesty the King of Hanover.

"His Majesty does me justice in believing that I felt

[1] 'Annual Register,' Chronicle, 6 Jan. 1842.

Sir

London Sept.

I have had the

Your Letter of the

I concert of Hon

Denver.

His Majesty does

Desiring the Pres

Interest and amus

Very Disaster!

Majesty should at any time
[illegible] that they can be of any
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

the most intense interest and anxiety about the King his father.

"I had long been honoured by his notice and gracious favour. I sincerely admired his great talents, and the services which he had rendered to Germany and the World.

"I beg you to present my grateful acknowledgments to His Majesty, and I entreat His Majesty to command my services if His Majesty should at any time consider that they can be of any service to him.

"I have the honour to be

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"Rev. Charles Wilkinson." "WELLINGTON.

Mr. Raikes also furnishes the following characteristic anecdotes.

His Self-denying Courtesy, 1842.

"Last year when the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge paid him a visit at Strathfieldsaye, and bedrooms were scarce, Lord Charles Wellesley told me that he said to him, 'I fear I must deprive you of your room for a few days,'—to which, of course, Lord Charles assented. When, however, he came to look for his new lodging, he found that the Duke had given up to him his own room, and had had a bed put up for himself in his dressing-room, having the door of communication double-locked, reserving no *sortie* for himself but through a glass door and through the garden into the body of the house." Mr. Raikes adds: "When at Strathfieldsaye he tires himself too much; for he will hunt and ride sometimes a long way to cover, not returning until late in the evening, and then often exhausted."[1]

The Duke's Fair Dealing.

"Some years ago it was proposed to him to purchase a

[1] Raikes, Walmer, 1842, vol. iv. 310.

farm in the neighbourhood of Strathfieldsaye which lay contiguous to his estate, and was, therefore, a valuable acquisition; to which he assented. When the purchase was completed, his steward congratulated him upon having had such a bargain, as the seller was in difficulties, and forced to part with it. 'What do you mean by a bargain?' said the Duke. The other replied, 'It was valued as £1100 and we got it for £800.' 'In that case,' said the Duke, 'you will please carry the extra £300 to the late owner, and never talk to me of cheap land again.'"[1]

The Duke and Arbuthnot, 1843.

"Arbuthnot is his *fidus Achates*, his second self, from whom he seems to have no secret hid. He shows him almost all his letters at breakfast, and his character is so mild and placid that it blends admirably with that of the Duke, who, with all his fine qualities, when worried and vexed by his multifarious business, is subject, at times, to momentary fits of anger and excitement. These bursts never last long, and when the bile is once vomited out he is cool and dispassionate again. Algy (Greville, the private secretary) says that this bile is sometimes visited upon Arbuthnot himself, from whom it glides off innocuous, and who often makes a very convenient *paratonnerre* for others."[2]

How the Duke settled the Question of Precedence between the Kings of Belgium and Hanover in 1843.

"At the marriage of the Princess Augusta, of Cambridge," said the Duke, "the Queen was very anxious to give Leopold precedence of the King of Hanover, and consulted me. I told Her Majesty that I supposed it was settled at the Congress of Vienna. 'How?' said the Queen, 'by

[1] Raikes's 'Journal,' 1843, vol. iv. 343.
[2] Raikes, Walmer, 1843, vol. iv. 319.

the first arrival?' 'No, Madame, alphabetically, you know that "B" (Belgium) comes before "H" (Hanover). This pleased her very much, and it was done."[1]

The Queen's Visit to Louis-Philippe at Eu.

"The Duke said, 'I was never let into the secret, nor did I believe the reports then in circulation, till at last they sent to consult my opinion as to forming a regency during the Queen's absence. I immediately referred to precedents as the only proper guide. I told them that George I., George II. (George III. never went abroad), and George IV. had all been obliged to appoint councils of regency; that Henry VIII., when he met Francis I. at Ardres, was then master of Calais, as also when he met Charles at Gravelines; so that in those instances, Calais being a part of his dominions, he hardly did more than pass his frontier, not much more than going from one county to the next. Upon this I decided, that the Queen could not quit this country without an Act of Regency. But she consulted the Crown lawyers, who decided that it was not necessary, as courtiers would do. I myself did not believe in her going till two days before she went. Peel persisted afterwards that he had told me of it; but I know I never heard it, and it was not a thing to have escaped me if I had.'"[2]

The Visit of the Czar to England.

"Friday, July 26, 1844.

"I called this morning on the Duke, and found him alone

[1] Raikes, Walmer, 1843, vol. iv. 297.

On the same occasion the Duke told an amusing anecdote of how the Queen contrived that Prince Albert should sign before the King of Hanover, who was very anxious to sign before the Prince. "The Queen knew what he was about, and just as the Archbishop was giving her the pen, dodged round the table, placed herself by the Prince, and then quickly took the pen from the Archbishop."

[2] Raikes, 1843, vol. iv. 288.

and in very high spirits, and as usual full of anecdote. . . . . He adverted to the late visit of the Emperor of Russia, and said: 'He acted with great discretion and good taste, and everything passed off remarkably well; but I will candidly tell you that never did my mind feel so relieved as when he quitted safely the English shores. Deep plots were certainly laid to murder him by the Polish party here; and, however you may have seen the affair of Offstrowski palliated and defended by the public press, it might have produced the most serious consequences. I myself looked over all the papers submitted to the Privy Council, and I believe I am the only person who saw the note in pencil sent to the police by the traitor who gave the information, which was in the following terms: "You have no time to lose, for the man has got possession of one of our cards, which would give him immediate admittance into the palace, and then he will have every opportunity to effect his purpose." This man, it must be recollected, went to the tailor employed by the Emperor, and learning all the details of a pair of pantaloons making for him, had concerted a scheme to personate one of the journeymen, and in that disguise make an attempt on his life.'"[1]

The Duke's Last Year.

At length the end of the Duke's valuable life was rapidly approaching, hastened, probably, by his "Spartan notions against self-indulgence." Yet to the last he was active, cheerful and kind, especially to children, with whose prattle he was always pleased.

It was the privilege of Mr. Croker to be able to record in his 'Diary' the most pleasing traits of the old man's last year of life. In September 1852, the Duke, unaccompanied, had found his way from Walmer Castle to Folkestone, where Croker was then staying. Of that interview we have the following interesting anecdotes.

[1] Raikes's 'Journal,' vol. iv. 412–13.

What is on the other Side of the Hill.

"In coming to see me (as he had done the day but one before, Sept. 2nd) he had chosen to walk from the station to our house, and without even a guide. He said he had found it a rough walk and the ground intersected in a way he had not expected; so I said to him, 'It seems you forgot *to guess what was on the other side of the hill.*' This was in allusion to a circumstance which had occurred between him and me some thirty years before. When travelling on the north road, we amused ourselves by guessing what sort of a country we should find at the other side of the hills we drove up, and when I expressed surprise at some extraordinary good guesses he had made, he said, 'Why I have spent all my life in trying *to guess what was on the other side of the hill.*'

"I had reminded him of this just as we were driving across the ravine that had impeded him, and he turned round to Mrs. Croker to explain to her, adding, 'All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do know; that's what I called guessing what was on the other side of the hill.'"[1]

The Duke and the Old Soldier, 1852.

"An old soldier with a medal or two and several bars on his ribbon, with, as he said a French bullet in his thigh from the siege of Badajos, came up to him on the railway platform. He had some employment in the neighbourhood as drill master at schools, and said he was well off, but wished the Duke to make him a warder of the Tower. 'No, no!' said the Duke, 'I cannot do that.' The Duke said to me, 'All I can now do must be done to reward current service—the

[1] 'Croker,' vol. iii. 276. Sept. 14, 1852.

Cape and India—every one must have his day.' The Duke, however, gave him the *accustomed sovereign*, which I believe he always carries loose in his waistcoat pocket for these occasions, so frequent are they; but he on this occasion, gave it with evident reluctance, as the man (an Irishman) was obtrusive, and inclined to be over familiar, and, moreover, a little tipsy."[1]

His Horse, Copenhagen, 1815.

"We talked of Lamartine's description of Buonaparte's weakness and even cowardice at the close of the battle of Waterloo. The Duke said, 'Of course I could see nothing about it; but I can hardly believe it. I think that even with ordinary men great interest would overcome personal fear.'

"*Croker.* 'Perhaps it is as true as your having had *eight* horses knocked up or killed under you. "Copenhagen" must have been a very old horse when I saw him last at Strathfieldsaye, if you rode him at Copenhagen.'

"*The Duke.* 'Oh, no! He was not named from my having ridden him at Copenhagen; his dam was a blood mare which Tom Grosvenor had in the expedition to Copenhagen, and he called her foal by that name, so that he must have been foaled after 1806. Grosvenor sold him to Charles Stuart, now Londonderry, of whom, when he left the Peninsula, I bought him, and rode him throughout the rest of the war, and *mounted no other horse at Waterloo.*'"[1]

Two days after the Duke visited his old friend for the last time.

Croker's last Interview with the Duke, 1852.

"Lady Barrow's five little girls were with us, and he won their hearts by writing his name in their albums; in the

[1] Folkestone, Sept. 2, 1852. Croker, iii. 274.

signature of one, the best written of the five, he wrote his name with a single 'l.' His good humour and kindness to the children, and indeed to everybody, was very pleasing. To me (evidently on account of my precarious health) he was peculiarly attentive. On going away he promised to see me again next week, but as he could not fix the day he would write to let me know.

"As we were getting into the carriage that was to take us to the station, he handed the ladies in and placed them in the back seats, the Duke insisting on taking the front seat, saying, 'I must sit opposite to Nony,' referring to Lady Barrow by her early familiar name. But she forced him to take the back seat, and then sat opposite to him. Going down out of the house, there were two sets of steps, which he went down very leisurely with Mrs. Croker on his arm, counting one, two, three, and one, two, three and four, and then looked back and repeated the numbers, as if for my use, for he thought me feebler than I am, thank God. How characteristic this trifle is both of his precision and his kind attentions to others!"[1]

The following amusing anecdote was apparently told to Mr. Croker at this interview.

The Duke and the Duchesse de Montpensier.

"*The Duke* said he had met her at Windsor and happened to be near to her (she, it seems, did not know who he was) when some mention was made of *La Granja*, and he said something about the site and style of the palace, and especially about a court and fountain that were there, which she overheard, and asked how *Monsieur* came to know anything of La Granja. The Duke smiled, and said that he believed that he knew the palace of La Granja, and that of Madrid, almost as

[1] Folkestone, Sept. 2, 1852.

well as Her Royal Highness. The Queen, seeing that the Duchess looked surprised, came up and told her who I was.

"*Croker:* 'Had you not your Golden Fleece on? She might have guessed by that that you were a *Grand d'Espagne.*'

"*The Duke:* 'She did not observe it in the crowd, and was only struck by overhearing so accurate a description of La Granja from she did not know whom.'"[1]

Of the last and fatal seizure we have two accounts—one most kindly communicated by Lady Charles Wellesley, the mother of the present Duke, who with her husband was staying at Walmer at the time; the other extracted from the 'Diary' of the late Dr. Williams, who speaks from information given at the time by Lord Charles, when he was called in, but too late to render any assistance.

The Duke's Last Moments.

"The Duke of Wellington had appeared particularly well on the 13th of September, the day before his death. He was very anxious about the insufficiency of the coast defences, and had ridden out on that day to make some observations: he returned in good spirits, and conversed more during dinner-time than he usually did when we were alone. Lord Charles Wellesley and I were the only persons staying with him at the time.

"The next morning, when his servant called him, the Duke appeared very drowsy, and about half an hour afterwards, when his servant again went to the door, he heard the Duke breathing heavily and went into the room. The Duke roused himself sufficiently to tell him to send for the doctor (Mr. Hulke, of Deal), who soon arrived and saw the Duke, and afterwards told Lord Charles Wellesley that he did not consider the attack serious, that it appeared to be a slight one of the same nature as some attacks he had been subject to a few years before, supposed to arise partly from

[1] Croker, Folkestone, Sept. 2, 1852.

indigestion. He said that the Duke ought to remain quite quiet, and he hoped would soon be better. Lord Charles begged of Mr. Hulke to return about two o'clock, as he knew that it had been the Duke's intention to drive to Dover in the afternoon to see Lady Westmoreland, and that if he felt pretty well would perhaps wish to go, but would obey a doctor's order.

"However, very soon after Mr. Hulke left the Castle, the Duke fainted, became unconscious, and never fully regained consciousness, or spoke, as far as I can recollect until his death. Mr. Hulke was summoned again immediately. The Duke was restless and tried to get out of bed, and was lifted to an arm-chair in which he remained until the last. He also showed signs of annoyance at having people about him (as was usually the case), so that those who remained in the room took care not to pass between him and the window.

"Between one and two o'clock Lord Charles took me into the Duke's room, he was then in the arm-chair, his legs and feet rolled in blankets, very pale, his eyes closed and breathing heavily, but there was no appearance of pain or suffering. I only remained in the room a few minutes, and I believe there was no perceptible change until he passed away without a struggle.

"SOPHIA A. C. WELLESLEY.

"Conholt Park, Andover, March 12, 1887."

The Cause of the Duke of Wellington's Death, 1852.

"I had never attended the Duke, nor had I any intelligence of his illness; in fact, I could only guess that the message related to him. The only way to 'come immediately' was to wait for the next train, which was to start at 6 P.M. (I think). Had I taken a special train, it was doubtful that it would arrive sooner, and the message did not seem to warrant my taking that step. There was

no message to stop my coming at London Bridge; but on the journey I heard a rumour of the Duke's death. On arriving at Walmer Castle, between eight and nine, I learnt that his Grace had been dead several hours, I do not now remember how many, but the death must have taken place before I received the message in London. I heard from Lord Charles Wellesley the particulars of his illness, some of which I will relate, so far as I can remember them.

"The Duke was in his usual health the day before, Monday; and had driven to Dover to meet a friend who was to arrive by steamer. The packet was behind time; and the Duke walked with Lord Charles on the pier, seeming quite well; and, as usual, plying the men with questions about what they were doing. His sight was so good that he described to Lord Charles what he could see on the French coast, 'where,' Lord Charles added 'I could see nothing.' (Lord Charles's sight was defective; I saw him afterwards when he became blind, from the disease of which he died.) The Duke was thus kept waiting, and returned to dinner two hours after his usual time. He was very hungry, and ate hastily and heartily.

"I am not sure, but I think his valet told me that a meat-pie and salad formed part of the dinner, and I know that he mentioned that the Duke drank a great deal of water, but not a drop of wine or spirits. In the night he had a severe epileptic fit, to which he was liable; and on recovering, desired his valet to send for Dr. Hulke, his usual medical attendant, who came and administered proper remedies, but I do not remember further particulars. I did not then see Dr. Hulke, but met him afterwards, at the funeral. We agreed in attributing the death to the consequence of the violent convulsive attack, brought on by an over-distended stomach. He lived, it is true, to a good old age; but it can hardly be doubted, considering how well he seemed to be the day before, that but for a long and exhausting fast, and

the large and hasty meal of cold indigestible food, he might have avoided that attack and lived for a while longer.

"The Duke, although a strict disciplinarian, was wayward as a patient, and had Spartan notions against self-indulgence of any kind. Dr. Robert Ferguson told me that once the Duke complained to him of his feet getting cold in bed. 'I would advise your Grace,' said Dr. Ferguson, 'to have a hot bottle in your bed.' 'Hot bottle! Naw, naw; I rub 'em—rub 'em, half an hour.' A good sample of the Iron Duke's endurance as well as natural sagacity. I have proved the benefit of imitating his perseverance; rubbing one's own feet at first seems a feeble and fatiguing exertion, and with little result; but if you take a leaf out of the Duke's book, and go on rubbing for half an hour, or even a quarter of an hour, you will surely find not the feet only, but the whole body, in a glow." [1]

Lord Malmesbury's account of the funeral that followed, at which representatives from the whole continental world were present, though the French Ambassador appears for a time to have hesitated to be present, aptly concludes this portion of the Life of Wellington.

The French Ambassador and the Duke's Funeral.

"*Nov.* 16, 1852.—Twenty-seven foreign officers are arrived as deputations from all the European Courts. Walewski was coquetting about attending the funeral, and asked Brünow (the Russian Ambassador) whether he thought that, as a Frenchman, he ought to do so, to which Brünow replied, '*Mon cher, si nous allions ressuciter ce pauvre duc, je comprends que vous pourriez vous dispenser d'assister à cette cérémonie; mais, puisque nous sommes invités pour l'enterrer, il me semble que vous pouvez, vous, en faire votre deuil.*' Walewski had positive orders to attend the funeral from Louis Napoleon, who spoke with great respect of the Duke.

"*Nov.* 18.—The Duke's funeral. I started for the

[1] 'Memoirs of Life and Work,' by C. Williams, M.D.

place of rendezvous, St. James's Park, at 8 A.M. A dreary morning and raining. The signal gun fired at quarter to nine, and at the same moment the sun broke out for the first time since last month. The weather had been awful, and the whole country is deluged. All the Corps Diplomatique present at St. Paul's except Brünow, who shammed ill for fear of a row.

"The cortege proceeded up the Mall and Constitution Hill, through a countless mass of silent people, almost all in deep black, passing Buckingham Palace, where the Queen and Prince Albert stood on the balcony in deep mourning, then turned down Piccadilly, straight to St. Paul's. The Ministers in their carriages followed. The streets were lined with troops, and no one can forget the solemn silence and unbroken order that prevailed throughout this long route. On arriving at St. Paul's, which was completely full from pavement to the roof, the same order prevailed. Round the entrance of the vault sat the Corps Diplomatique, the deputations of foreign officers, the Duke's old Generals, Lords Anglesey, Hardinge, Napier, and his other companions in arms, also the distinguished officers of the navy, like Sir G. Cockburn, and Members of Parliament of both Houses and both parties. Anthems by Handel were played, the words of one of which were, 'His body is buried in peace, his soul liveth for evermore,' accompanied, it is said, by two thousand voices. When they turned over the leaves of their music-books, which they did simultaneously, it sounded like a sudden blast of wind. Lord Douro, as chief mourner, stood at the entrance of the vault, while the guns fired from different parts of London saluted the descent of the coffin. The emotion produced upon all was the same, unchecked tears rolled down the cheeks of the oldest veterans.

"'Such honours Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.'"

[1] Lord Malmesbury's 'Diary,' pp. 278–9.

CONCLUSION.

Notes of his Opinions on the Character and Action of some of his Contemporaries.

To this connected series of illustrations of the Public and Private Life of the Duke of Wellington, it will be convenient to give in a group some notes of the Duke's opinions of some of his contemporaries, furnished by the 'Despatches' and the 'Diaries' of Mr. Croker and Mr. Raikes; and first of Talleyrand as a Diplomatist and as a Minister.

Talleyrand as a Diplomatist.

"When in 1830 Talleyrand was to be sent to England as the Ambassador of Louis Philippe, King William apprehended so much mischief from his popular reputation, that Colonel Taylor wrote to Lord Aberdeen, by the King's orders, that he would be glad if the nomination could be prevented. In reply to this letter, which Lord Aberdeen forwarded to the Duke, his Grace authorized the Foreign Secretary to 'assure the King that Talleyrand's appointment was not likely to be inconvenient either to His Majesty or His Majesty's affairs.' 'There is no individual,' the Duke added, with whose manner of doing business I am better acquainted than M. de Talleyrand, and you may rely upon it that we might have received a more inconvenient Ambassador than he is likely to be." [1]

[1] 'Wellington Despatches,' 2nd series, vol. vii.

The Duke's Opinion of Talleyrand as a Minister.

"It may seem odd to confess, but I never could discover on what grounds Talleyrand's great reputation as a Minister was built. I never found him a man of business, nor I must say able in affairs. When things were returning, after the anarchy, to a more settled state, the Directory were glad to get any one of the old school, who had any reputation, to give a kind of respectability to their Administration. Buonaparte did the same. To have been a member of the constituent assembly, and to have outlived the Revolution, was itself a merit in those days. The Revolution was a kind of Tontine, and Talleyrand, Fouché, and half a dozen others accumulated all its advantages on their own heads by mere benefit of survivorship. It is easy enough to be a successful Minister for Foreign Affairs to a Government which has military possession of Europe. As to his ministry under Buonaparte, it was almost a sinecure. The *Chef de l'État-Major* was the real Minister of Foreign Affairs, and what he did not do, Buonaparte did himself, and Talleyrand often received applause and censure for things that he never saw nor heard of till they were brought to him for signature. Witness among many other instances which I could give you, that paper which I gave Lord Whitworth and which he gave to Peel, in which Buonaparte does not trust Talleyrand literally to walk alone, but prescribes how far he shall follow Lord Whitworth and when he shall turn on his heel. But what amazes one the most in him is the boldness of his duplicity. Would you believe it, that at Erfurth, where Buonaparte met the Emperor of Russia to persuade him to join in overwhelming Austria, Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who all day long laboured under Buonaparte's vigilant eye to carry this object, used to visit Alexander secretly at night, and furnish him with every argument, reason, or pretence, which he could discover or invent against

Buonaparte's plan. This Talleyrand himself told me, but I should not have believed it from him alone, but the Emperor confirmed it to me, and I had it also from the Princess of Tour and Taxis, at whose house these conclaves took place."[1]

The Duke and Talleyrand.

"Talleyrand once said to me, '*M. le Duc, vous connaissez le monde, pouviez-vous m'indiquer un endroit où un honnête homme pouvait se retirer pour vivre en paix?*' I thought of, first, Malta, but then recollected the liberty of the Press there, and that would not do; at last we both seemed to agree that England after all might be the best. It is astonishing how all those who have the true conservative feeling at heart look up to England as the only solid barrier left against the spirit of innovation. Yes, he was a very agreeable companion though not a talkative one; he would often remain for an hour in company without speaking, and then would come out with an epigram which you never forgot. I was one day at Madame Crawford's house in Paris when some one came in and announced the death of Napoleon. It made a sort of sensation in the room, and Madame Crawford exclaimed, '*Ah, mon Dieu, quel événement!*' Talleyrand was sitting in a corner near her, and very quietly replied, '*Ce n'est plus en événement, c'est une nouvelle.*'"[2]

Talleyrand and Fouché.

"When the allies had arrived in Paris there was still a great difficulty in procuring the acknowledgment of the Bourbons, and the person who made the greatest resistance was Napoleon's Minister Fouché. Nothing could bring him round, till at last I went to Talleyrand, and asked him how it could be accomplished. He appeared to consider, and then

[1] Conversation with the Duke, 1826. Croker, vol. i. 334.
[2] Raikes, Walmer, 1843, p. 309.

said, 'Leave the matter to me.' On the following day there was a grand dinner, where all the Corps Diplomatique and other important personages were assembled, Fouché among the rest. In the evening, as soon as we began to discuss business, though I feared with little success, Talleyrand solemnly took a paper out of his large waistcoat pocket, directed to the Duc l'Otranto (Fouché), which he handed over to him, desiring him to peruse it. It was a document signed by Louis XVIII. appointing him Minister General of Police, under the new reign. This vanquished at once his objections, and we met with no further opposition."[1]

Fouché's Memoirs.

"*Oct.* 3, 1834.—I (Mr. Croker) happened to mention the profuse fabrication of French *Mémoires*, and instanced those of Fouché. The Duke said: 'I dare say they were not written by Fouché, and that, they are what therefore may be called fabrications; but they are certainly done by some one who had Fouché's confidence or his papers, for there are several passages in them of a secret nature, in which I myself happened to be concerned, and which I know to be true. I won't at all answer for the whole book; but as far as my own knowledge goes, I find them tolerably correct, and am therefore disposed to give some degree of credit to the rest; of course they are apologetical, and my evidence can only apply to the short period of the Restoration, in which I came into contact with him.'"[2]

Charles X. 1825.

"I was once going with Charles X. to shoot at Vincennes with the Duke of FitzJames. As we passed through the Rue de la Ferronière, Charles X. pointed to the spot where he said, Henry IV. had been killed. This brought on a con-

[1] Raikes's 'Journal,' Conversation at Walmer, 1843, p. 291.
[2] Croker, vol. ii. 236.

versation between them about Henry IV., who changed his religion to preserve his crown, and James II., who lost his crown to preserve his religion. Charles insisted on it that Henry had done well, and the Duke (FitzJames) that James had done still better. You may judge that I did not enter into the dispute, which, however, soon ended in the common accord of the parties, that as both the courses ended in the glorification of the Roman Catholic faith, both monarchs were objects of veneration. In the meanwhile it never occurred to either of those polite gentlemen that a Protestant gentleman (the representative of the Protestant King of England) was in the carriage with them. Charles talked with so warm a bigotry on the duty of restoring the privileges of the Church, that I could not help thinking to myself that he was very likely to do something that might lose, or at least risk, his crown." [1]

The Duke on Charles X. and James II.

"*Strathfieldsaye, April* 16, 1841.—*The Duke*: 'Charles X. was a repetition of James II., as Louis XVIII. had some resemblance to Charles II.'

"*Ashburton*: 'Who never said a foolish thing or did a wise one.'

"*The Duke*: 'That is not quite true of Louis, for he acted prudently on many occasions.'

"*Ashburton*: 'Then Louis Philippe is much in the same position as King William, and is just as dissatisfied with the principles that placed him on the throne as William was.'

"*Croker*: 'Yes; and talks, we hear, as William used to do, of *abdication*.'

"*Ashburton*: 'William said to Wharton, "After all, I see the Tories are the only party to make a King comfortable in this country." "Yes," replied the other, "but your Majesty must recollect that you are not the *Tory King*."'

[1] Jan. 20, 1837, to J. W. C.—Croker, vol. ii. 310.

"*Croker*: 'And when you recollect how close the execution of Charles I. and of Louis XVI., and the intermediate usurpation of Cromwell and Buonaparte seem—the whole parallel—it is certainly a most striking similarity, not to say identity, of events and characters.'

"*The Duke*: 'Because it is human nature. Human interests and passions will be always the same, and, on the large scale, will always produce like general results; but certainly the resemblance between the personal characters of James II. and Charles X., particularly in their bigotry, was remarkable.'"[1]

The Archduke Charles of Austria.

"A great officer! Why he knows more about war than all of us put together, aye, than Buonaparte or Moreau or any of us. We are none of us worthy to fasten the latchets of his shoes, if I am to judge from his book and his plans of campaigns. But his mind or his health has, they tell me, a very peculiar defect. He is admirable for five or six hours, and whatever can be done in that time will be done perfectly; but after that he falls into a kind of epileptic stupor, does not know what he is about, has no opinion of his own, and does whatever the man at his elbow tells him."[2]

Sir Sidney Smith.

"Of all the men whom I ever knew who have any reputation, the man who least deserves it is Sir Sidney Smith. During my embassy at Paris (where he was living to avoid

[1] Croker, vol. ii. 402.

[2] Croker, 1826, vol. i. 338. The Archduke Charles, with his younger brother John, were mainly instrumental in re-organising the Austrian army previous to the commencement of the great struggle which commenced in 1809, when he held the chief command, and fought the tremendous battles of Essling and Aspern and Wagram. Died 30th April, 1847.

his creditors in England) I saw a good deal of him, and had eternal projects from him as long as I would listen to them. At first, out of deference to his name and general reputation, I attended to him, but I soon found he was a mere vaporizer. I cannot believe that a man so silly in all other affairs can be a good naval officer.[1]

"While our expedition against Algiers, under Lord Exmouth, was going forward, Sir Sidney asked an audience of the old King, Louis XVIII., and after some delay obtained it. His business was to acquaint the King that the expedition must fail; that the force was insufficient and bad of its kind; but that above all, the commander was ill selected; that he knew Lord Exmouth well, having served with him, and that whatever qualities he might have as a mere sailor, he was the most unfit man in all other respects to command such an enterprise; that he himself was, from a variety of considerations, the only person who ought to have been selected; and finally, by this omission, an affair so vitally important to the civilised world must, to an absolute and demonstrative certainty, fail. The old King was sly and had a quiet kind of humour; he listened to Smith without interruption, and when he had concluded a very long speech he told Sir Sidney that he was very much obliged to him for the information that he was so good as to give him, that he quite appreciated his *lamières* and his motives, but he added,

[1] At the evacuation of Toulon, Dec. 1793, Sir Sidney Smith commanded the fire-ships by which the great arsenal was destroyed, and lingered in the harbour, doing his utmost to save the fugitive Royalists who crowded the quays, until his own retreat had become difficult. In 1799 he captured some French vessels on the coast of Syria, containing heavy artillery, which he landed, and used in the heroic defence of Acre, where, despite all his efforts, Buonaparte was held at bay by a handful of English marines and sailors, and forced to a disastrous retreat. In 1800, in command of an English fleet, he materially assisted the Turks in their resistance to the French under Kleber, and in 1806 commanded the British fleet at Palermo, and aided in the landing of Sir John Stuart's army in Calabria, where they won the battle of Maida.

'I am sure it will give you additional pleasure, as it has done to me since I have heard your opinion, to learn that we have this morning heard, through Marseilles, that what you fear is impracticable has been accomplished with the most complete success.'

"*Croker*: 'But has not Sir Sidney the merit of enthusiasm—a main ingredient towards making a great man?'

"*The Duke*: 'No, not even enthusiasm; but a degree of egotism and vanity that looks like enthusiasm; but he has no enthusiasm in the world except for what relates to Sir Sidney Smith.'"[1]

[1] Croker, Beaudesert, 1826, vol. i. 348.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM NAPIER'S 'PENINSULAR WAR.'

"*Effect of the good Discipline of the Allied Army on the Entry into France.*

"An official letter written from Bayonne at this period (after the passage of the Adour) runs thus: 'The English General's policy and the good discipline he maintains do us more harm than ten battles. Every peasant wishes to be under his protection." Vol. vi. 69.

Coining French Money.

"Knowing that in a British army a wonderful variety of knowledge and avocations, good and bad, may be found, he (Wellington) caused the coiners and die-sinkers amongst the soldiers to be sought out; and once assured that no mischief was intended to them, it was not difficult to persuade them to acknowledge their peculiar talents. With these he established a secret mint and coined gold Napoleons, marking them with a stamp, and carefully preserving their just weight to enable the French Government, when peace should be established, to call them in. He thus avoided all the difficulties of exchange, and removed a fruitful graft of quarrels and ill-will between the troops and the shopkeepers. This sudden increase of coin tended also to diminish the pressure necessarily attendant upon troubled times. He had before practised this in India." Vol. vi. 77.

The Lessons taught by Wellington's Campaigns.

"Wellington's campaigns furnish lessons for generals of all nations, but they must always be especial models for British commanders in future continental wars. He modified and reconciled great principles of art with the peculiar difficulties which attend generals controlled by politicians who prefer parliamentary intrigue to national interest. An

English commander must not trust his fortune. He dare not risk much, however conscious he may be of personal resources, when one disaster will be his ruin at home; his measures must be subordinate to this primary consideration. Wellington's caution springing from that source, has led friends and foes alike into wrong conclusions as to his system of war; the French call it want of enterprise, timidity; the English have denounced it as the Fabian system. These are mere phrases: this system was the same as that of all great generals. He held his army in hand, keeping it with unmitigated labour always in a fit state to march or to fight, and acted indifferently as occasion offered on the offensive or the defensive, displaying in both a complete mastery of his art. Sometimes he was indebted to fortune, sometimes to his natural genius, always to his untiring industry; for he was emphatically a painstaking man." Vol. vi. 195.

EXTRACTS FROM 'THE SUBALTERN,' BY THE REV. G. R. GLEIG.

Wellington at the Bidassoa.

"We had continued this arduous journey during five hours, when on reaching the summit of an isolated green hill, at the back of the ridge already described, four mounted officers crossed us, one of them riding a little ahead of the rest, who on the contrary kept together. He who rode in front was a thin, well-made man, apparently of middle stature, just passed the prime of life. His dress was a plain gray frock, buttoned close to the chin; a cocked hat, covered with oilskin; gray pantaloons, with boots buckled at the side, and a steel mounted light sabre. Though I knew not who he was, there was a brightness in his eye which bespoke him something more than an aide-de-camp or a general of brigade; nor was I long left in doubt. There were in the ranks many veterans who had served in the Peninsula during some of the earlier campaigns; these instantly recognised their old leader, and the cry 'Duro!' 'Duro!'—the familiar title given by the soldiers to the Duke of Wellington—was raised. This was followed by reiterated shouts, to which he replied by taking off his hat and bowing, when, after commending the appearance of the corps, and chatting for a moment with the commanding officer, he advised that a halt should take place where we were, and rode on.

"There was in his general aspect nothing indicative of a life spent in hardships and fatigues; nor any expression of care or anxiety in his countenance; on the contrary, his cheek, though bronzed with frequent

exposure to the sun, had on it the ruddy hue of health, whilst a smile of satisfaction played about his mouth, and told, far more plainly than words could have spoken, how perfectly he felt himself at ease."—Gleig's 'Subaltern,' pp. 71–2.

Condition of the Spanish Troops, 1813.

"Away to our right, and on the tops of San Marcial, the Spanish divisions took their stations, nor could I avoid drawing something like an invidious comparison between them and their gallant allies. Half clothed and badly fed, though sufficiently armed, their appearance certainly promised no more than their actions for the most part verified. Not that the Spanish peasantry are deficient in personal courage (and their soldiers were, generally speaking, no other than peasants with muskets in their hands), but their corps were so miserably officered, and their commissariat so miserably supplied, that the chief matter of surprise is, how they came to fight at all. Even at this period of the war, when their country might be said to be completely freed from the invader, the principal subsistence of the Spanish army consisted in the heads of Indian corn, which they gathered for themselves in the fields, and cooked by roasting them over their fires."—Gleig's 'Subaltern,' pp. 101–2.

Good Feeling between the Armies, 1813.

"Again, there was a capital trouting stream before us in the Bidassoa, of which my friend and myself made good use. And here I cannot but again remark upon the excellent understanding which prevailed between the hostile armies, and their genuine magnanimity towards one another. Many a time have I waded half across the little river, on the opposite bank of which the enemy's pickets were posted, whilst they came down in crowds only to watch my success, and to point out particular pools or eddies where the best sport could be had. On such occasions the sole precaution which I took was to dress myself in scarlet, and then I might approach within a few yards of their sentries without risk of molestation."—Gleig's 'Subaltern,' pp. 84–5.

"I had hardly quitted him (a French officer who came to hand letters from prisoners, and some money and clothing for some of the French whom we had captured), at least I had not reached my station on the top of the hill, when I heard myself called by one of the sentinels, and turned round. I saw the individual with whom I had

been conversing sitting in the midst of a little group of French officers, and watching the progress of an old woman who was coming towards our lines. She held a large bundle in her hand, which she lifted up to attract my notice, and continued to move forward, gabbling loudly all the while. Obeying her signal, I returned and met her a few yards in front of the sentries, when she delivered to me about a couple of quarts of brandy, as a present from the French officers, who desired her to say, that if I could spare them a little tea in exchange, they would feel obliged. It so happened that I had brought no such luxury as tea to my post—of this I informed the female Mercury; but I desired her to offer my best acknowledgments to her employers, and to add, that I had sent to the rear in order to procure it. With this message she accordingly departed, having promised to keep in sight for at least half an hour, and return as soon as I should make a sign that the tea had arrived.

"My bugler made good haste, and soon returned with about a quarter of a pound of black tea, half of the stock which remained in my canteen. In the meantime the French officers continued sitting together, and all rose when I waved my cap to their carrier. The old lady was not remiss in taking the hint. I handed over to her the little parcel, with numerous apologies for its tenuity; and I had the satisfaction to perceive, that, trifling as it was, it proved acceptable. The party pulled off their hats as an acknowledgment—I did the same; and we departed to our respective stations.

"There is something extremely agreeable in carrying on hostilities after this fashion; yet the matter may be pushed too far. Towards the close of the war, indeed so good an understanding prevailed between the outposts of the two armies, that Lord Wellington found it necessary to forbid all communications whatever: nor will the reader wonder at this, when I state to him the reason. A field-officer (I shall not state in what part of the line), in going his rounds one night, found that the whole sergeant's picket guard had disappeared. He was of course both alarmed and surprised at the occurrence; but his alarm gave place to absolute astonishment, when on stretching forward to observe whether there was any movement in the enemy's lines, he peeped into a cottage from which a noise of revelry was proceeding, and beheld the party sitting in the most sociable manner with a similar party of Frenchmen, and carousing jovially. As soon as he presented himself, his own men rose, and wishing their companions a good-night returned with the greatest *sang froid* to their posts. It is, however, but justice to add, that the sentinels on both sides faithfully kept their ground,

and that no intention of deserting existed on either part. In fact, it was a sort of custom, the French and British guards visiting each other by turns."—Gleig's 'Subaltern,' pp. 234–36.

La Maraude—The Cause of the Loss of the French Army in Russia in 1812.

In his exhaustive criticism (1825) on the war in Russia in 1812, the Duke in the following passages exposes the disastrous effects of the system of marauding—feeding the army from the country invaded by it—on that gigantic expedition:—

"Called together by conscription, each battalion of the French army had in its ranks good and bad, high, low, and middle classes, men of all trades and professions. The French soldiers scarcely required the usual discipline or punishment inflicted on soldiers to keep them in order. The good, under the superintendence and encouragement of the officers, took care of the bad, and kept them in order; and they were on the whole the best, the most orderly and obedient, and the most easily commanded, and best regulated body of troops that ever existed in Europe. *They were destroyed by their privations.* The French Revolution first introduced into the world new systems of war, the objects and results of which were to render war a resource instead of a burthen on the belligerents, and to lay the burthen upon the country which unfortunately became the seat of its operations. The system of terror and the misery of the people in France; and the conscription, the execution of which was facilitated by the first, placed at the disposal of the Government of the day the whole of the serviceable male population of the country. All that the Government had to do or did with them was to organize them into military bodies, arm them, and have them taught the first movements of the use of arms and of their military exercises. They were then poured into some foreign country to live upon its resources. Their numbers stifled or overcame all local opposition; and whatever might be the loss or misery which the system might occasion in the French armies, the first was of men who, dead, could not complain, the success stifled the complaints of their survivors.

"Napoleon was educated in this system. He succeeded to the power it gave to the Government, and carried its action to the greatest possible extent. The system of his tactics was founded on forced marches. War, being the principal resource of his Government, was to be carried on at the smallest possible expense of money to his treasury, but at the greatest possible expenditure of the lives of men

not only by the fire of the enemy, but by privations, fatigue, and sickness. Till this Russian war he had never thought of supplying his armies with the necessaries requisite to enable such great bodies to keep the field. His object was to surprise his enemy by the rapidity of his marches, to fight a great battle, levy contributions, make peace, and return to Paris. But these objects were always attained at the expense of the utmost privations to his troops. . . . .

"His mode is really curious, and worthy of observation. The army started with a certain number of days' provisions upon the men's backs, seldom less than seven days, and sometimes provision, that is to say, bread and biscuits, for fourteen days. Cattle were driven with the army to supply the rations of meat. The cavalry could not be loaded with provender for the horses for more than three or four days.

"Thus provided, the army started upon its expedition by forced marchès. In a very few days it was generally discovered that the soldiers, unable to carry their loads on these forced marches, had either consumed in two or three days that which ought to have lasted seven or ten days, or had thrown it away; or the general commanding, being apprehensive that the provisions which his troops had in possession would not be sufficient to last till he should be able to have another regular issue, commenced to procure supplies by what was called *la maraude*; that is to say, neither more nor less than plunder.

"Authority was given to send out a certain number of soldiers from each company to obtain provisions at each village or farmhouse in the neighbourhood of the road by which the army marched, or of the ground on which it was encamped. These soldiers were to force the inhabitants to deliver these provisions without payment or receipt; and it may well be believed that these acts of violence were not confined to forcing the delivery of provisions. Other articles of value were taken at the same time, and by the use of the same coercive measures; and it is not astonishing that officers and soldiers so employed should become habitual plunderers.

"The provisions thus brought in were issued among the troops under the command of the officer who had sent these detachments on the *maraude*. It is obvious that even this system, bad as it was, could not be resorted to with any prospect of success where the country through which the army marched was thinly peopled, or if the army was making extraordinary forced marches, or in the neighbourhood of the enemy; but it must be observed, that even if not resorted to by authority, it was invariably by private soldiers, and not unfrequently by the officers of the French army, on their own account.

They generally required the food because they had consumed or thrown away the enormous loads which had been packed upon them. But even if they did not necessarily require it, biscuit, or ammunition bread, and the meat of an animal but just killed after a forced march, is but bad food in comparison with what can be got from almost any village in the country; and, in addition to the food, the man *à la maraude* could pick up money and other valuable property. It must be observed that a French army, after quitting its magazines or a friendly country, never received a ration of provisions not procured by *la maraude*; and that this army which entered Russia, from the time that it quitted the Niemen in June 1812, until it returned to Smolensk in November 1812, excepting perhaps some of the guard, never received a ration that was not procured by *la maraude*.

"In all these accounts it is frequently stated that Napoleon complained that his orders were not obeyed, and that magazines of provisions for his army were not formed, upon the retreat, at the places at which he had ordered them to be formed. This may be true. But it must be observed that these orders were not given as other generals at the head of armies have given similar orders, pointing out the places or the means by which these provisions were to be collected and stored in magazine, and by supplying the money necessary to pay for their cost. There was but one resource for collecting these magazines—that was *la maraude*.

"Was money placed at their disposal to purchase these supplies in a country overrun with Jews, who, if money had been produced, would they have procured provisions in exchange for it for any distance? No! The officer in command of such post was to plunder the villages in his neighbourhood, already ruined and exhausted by the passage and operations of two hostile armies, and by the repeated plunder which they had suffered by detachments or single *traîneurs*.

"At Smolensk and at Orcha on the Dnieper, on the return of the army in November 1812, it appears that magazines of provisions were formed; that is to say, some of the squadrons, regiments, and brigades of carts befored mentioned had found their way to and had discharged their loads into the magazines at those places; but the army was at that time in such a state of disorganisation that these magazines were of little or of no utility. The truth is, that nearly the whole army, was, from the period of the commencement of the retreat, *à la maraude* in search of provisions. Nobody would believe that there could be any regular issue of provisions from any magazine, and no officer or soldier would join his corps in hopes of obtaining his portion of such

an issue. Besides, the truth is, that the officers of the French commissariat, and the *gardes magazines*, &c., were so little accustomed to make such issues, that they were not expert in the performance of this part of their duty. They performed it but slowly; but men who were starving with cold and hunger were but little disposed to wait to satisfy their appetites till those persons had gone through all the formalities required by their *compatibilité*, the meaning and use of which they did not understand. It is not astonishing, then, that they should have eaten the horses fit for service, employed in the draught of pieces upon the glacis of Smolensk, whilst waiting to receive their rations from the magazines in that town.

"The system of the French army, then, was the cause of its irregularities, disorders, and misfortunes, and its loss."—'Wellington Despatches,' vol. iii. 11–14. Memorandum on Segur's 'History of the War in Russia, 1812.'

INDEX.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL brought to reason, 61
Admiral, The Lord High, conduct of, 189
Alava, General, and the Duke, 311
Allied Proclamation against Napoleon, 131
Ambassador at Coronation of Czar Nicholas, 155
Anglesey, Lord, and the Duke, 203–15
——————, claim to publish private letters, 215
——————, the King on his defence, 213
——————, true reason of his recall, 205
Anti-slavery agitation, 187
Arbitration of claims on France, 142
Arbuthnot and the Duke, 348
Archduke Charles of Austria, 364
Army, appointed to the command of, 160
—— chaplain, the neglected, 309
——, reappointment, 175
——, resignation of the command, 167–70
Assaye, battle of—the ford, 6
Audit system during Peninsular War, 154

BAIRD, Sir David, and Wellesley, 5
Birth and Boyhood, 1, 2
Blücher, Marshal, and the Pont de Jena, 129
——————, and proposed execution of Napoleon, 134
Buckinghamshire Lace, 275
Buonaparte and Sir John Moore, 19
————— as a General, 94
————— at Waterloo, 112
————, character, 99
————, fear of, in all Europe, 10
————, Jonathan Wild the Great, 96
————, littleness of mind, 95

Buonaparte, plans of campaigns, 99
———, superiority over his marshals, 98
———, system of secrecy, 97
Burgos, cause of the failure at, 48
———, the retreat from, 45
———, narrow escape on the retreat from, 46
Burnet's "Greenwich Veterans," 320

CABINET, attempt to form one, 1832,
——— secrets, publication of, 180
———, the first, of the Duke, 183
Canning and the Duke of Wellington, 165–9
———, Metternich's opinion of, 169
Catholic Relief, difficulties after passing of the Act, 248
———, first proposals, 226–30
———, progress of the Duke's views, 224
———, the King's conduct, 236–8
———, the King's minute on, 231
Chancellorship of University of Oxford, 332
———, how the Latin speech was written, 334
Charities, the Duke's private, 319
Charles X. and James II., 363
Chartists, the Duke's preparations against the, 295–300
———, Lord Malmesbury's account of the day, 300
Cintra, convention of, defence of, 15
Ciudad Rodrigo, extempore scaling-ladders, 36
Clarence, Duke of, and Admiral Cockburn, 190–202
———, and the Duke of Wellington, 189–202
———, attempt to hoist his flag, 193
———, how he left the Admiralty, 201
———, the King's letter to, 197
Comte de Gerat and the Duke, 86
Copenhagen, history of the horse, 352
Corn Law Repeal League, reply to, 285
———, the Duke's conduct, 285–92
———, the Duke's feelings after the Act, 289–92
Courtesy and self-denial, 347
Croker's last interview with the Duke, 352
Cumberland and the Lievens, 253
———, intrigues of the Duke, 250–6
Czar's, the, visit to England, 349

DEATH, last moments, and cause of the Duke's, 354–5
Defence of Hougomont, 111

Defence of the 62nd Regiment at Ferozeshah, 293
Detractors, the Duke's, 334
Discipline, the Duke's, 82
Dry nurses at the Horse Guards, 11
Dutch troops at Waterloo, 113

EARLY attention to military duties, 2
——— rising, habit of, 345
Ebro, the passage of, 65
Emigration, the Duke's advice on, 278
Esprit, St., Order of, conferred on the Duke, 146
Estate of Grosbois offered to the Duke, 145

FLANDERS, sent to, as Lieut.-Colonel of 33rd Regiment, 8
Fouché's 'Memoirs,' 362
France, the Duke's order on entering, 81
French army, Wellesley's opinion of it (1808), 13
——— marshals, their behaviour to the Duke, 135
Friendly feelings between the English and French armies, 75–8

GODERICH Cabinet and the Duke, 177
Godfather, the duties of, 308
Grandees of Spain, the, and the Duke, 143

HANOVER, Ernest, King of, Duke's letter to, 346
———————, letter to the Blind King's chaplain, 346
———————, how the Duke settled the question of precedence between him and King Leopold, 349
Health of the Duke (1839), 341
——————— in his 72nd year, 343
Herries, Rt. Hon. J. C., and the Duke, 180

ILLNESS of the Duke, cause of (1832), 281
India, Wellesley sent to, 3
Intention, supposed, of leaving England (1832), 281
Intrigues of officers against Wellington, 62
Irish Parliament, last, M.P. for Trim, 2
Iron shutters at Apsley House, 330
Irreligion, charge of, 330

JUNOT, Marshal, 17

KING GEORGE IV., difficulties with his temper—Denman, 239
——————————— Mr. Conyer's case (note), 240

King George IV., difficulties with—Nash's baronetcy, 241
——————, letters to the Duke of Clarence, 193
—————— proposal to visit Charles X., 243. (*See also* Catholic Relief Bill.)
——————, the Duke of Clarence to, 194
—————— to the Duke of Wellington on the second attempt of the Duke of Clarence, 196
King William IV. and the Duke of Cumberland, 257
Kioge, battle of, 9

Libels on the Duke, 323–6
Life at Walmer Castle, 343
Lines of Torres Vedras, effect of, on the war, 33
Louis Philippe's attempt to be made King after the fall of Napoleon, 128

Magistracy, qualifications for the, 313–5
——————, unpaid, English and foreign, 316
Malmesbury, Lord, Duke's advice to (1852), 304
March, Lord, and the Duke, 41
Marches, long, in India, 7
Marmont and Buonaparte, 46
——— and the Revolution in Paris, 246
Massena and exchange of prisoners, 31
——— and the lines of Torres Vedras, 28
——— and the Portuguese Ordenanza, 28
———, retreat of, from Torres Vedras, 36

Napier, the brothers, 40
———, extracts from Napier's 'Peninsular War'—Appendix, 363
Napoleon as a general, 94
———, character, 99
———, fear of, in all Europe, 97
———, his littleness of mind, 95
———, Jonathan Wild the Great, 96
———, return from Elba, how the news came and was received, 105
———, superiority over his marshals, 98
———, system of secresy, 97
Nelson, Lord, interview of Wellesley with, 8
Newspaper correspondents, 27
——————— critics, 32
Ney, the execution of—the Duke's conduct, 141

Officer's advice to one addicted to gambling, 152
———, difficulties of selection for promotion, 148

Officers, solicitations of friends, 149
Official reticence, 182
Officious politeness, 308
Old soldier and the Duke, 350
Opposition, duty of, in 1831, 259
Ordenanza, Portuguese and Massena, 28
Ordnance, Master-General of, 148

Paper currency, 273
Paris occupation by the Allies, 128
Peel's Cabinet, 1841, Duke's position, 284
Peerage, grounds for refusing, 185
Peninsula, first expedition to the, 13
——— second " " 21
Pigot, General, how he got his regiment, 303
Polignac Cabinet and the Duke, 245
———, his designs on Belgium (note), 247
Portrait of the Duke (1816), Stockmar, 307
Premier, the Duke as, 179
Present, improper, 152
Priest of St. Pé and the Bourbons, 89
Private converations, reporting, 277
Proclamation aux Français, 85
Projectors, plans of, 277
Promotion, dates of the Duke's, 8
Proximity of pickets, 97
Pyrenees, battles of the, 69–74

Quatre Bras, the evening before, 106
———, battle of, 109
Queen's visit to Louis Philippe, 349

Ramsay, Captain, and the Duke, 207
Refusal to hold two appointments, 157
Revolution in Paris—State of garrison, 246
Rhune, attack by Spanish troops on the, 74

Salamanca, battle of, 43
Separation of English and Portuguese armies proposed, 78
Seringapatam, Governor of, 4
Slavery in our Colonies, 181
———, French view of the abolition of, 188
Sleeping at will, Duke's power of, 22
Small salaries and heavy responsibilities, 154

Smith, Sir Sidney, and Louis XVIII., 364
Somers, Major, and the Duke, 41
Spain, the last march into, 64
Spanish dislike and jealousy of foreigners, 56
——— Irish in the Peninsula, 56
——— pictures taken at Vittoria, 321
——— troops at Talavera, 54
——— ——— the great Rhune, 74
——— ——— Toulouse, 54
Statue at Hyde Park Corner, 335–40
'Subaltern, The,' extracts from—Appendix, 368
Swing Riots (1830), 263–71

TALAVERA, battle of, 23
———, retreat from, 23
Talleyrand and Fouché, 361
——— and the Duke, 361
——— as a diplomatist, 359
——— minister, 360
Threats of personal violence on the Duke, 326–29
Torres Vedras, effect of the lines on the future of the war, 33
———, map of the lines, 26
———, reason for the construction of the lines, 25

VIMIERO, battle of, 14
Visit to the king *re* Canning, 173
Vittoria, battle of, 65
———, how the news reached the Allies, 66
———, picture of it at Strathfieldsaye, 67

WARNING to the Government of the designs of Russia, 283
Waterloo campaign (cap. vii.), 102
———, close of the battle of, 114
Wellington and Marshal Blücher, Pont de Jena, 129
——— ———, proposed execution of Napoleon, 134
——— and the Comte de Gerat, 86
——— ——— proposed partition of France, 103
——— ——— two Maires, 91
——— at the entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris, 93
——— at Vienna, 103
———, care of his wounded, 38
———, coolness in action, 115
———, distress on Gordon's death, 107
——— at his losses at Waterloo, 118

Wellington in last Irish Parliament, 2
——— Flanders, 3
——— India, 3
———, first expedition to Peninsula, 13
———, his position after Vittoria, 67
——— Toulouse, 90
——— on aversion to acts of reckless bravery, 124
——— cuirassiers, 121
——— effect of infantry fire on cavalry, 123
——— French and English cavalry, 122
——— the field of Waterloo, 115
——— national characteristics of the army in the Peninsula, 121
——— numbers of his troops in his great battles, 125–6
———, second expedition to Peninsula, 21
——— treatment of grumblers, 119
What is on the other side of the hill, 351
Wilkie, Sir D., "Chelsea Pensioners," 320
Winchilsea, E., duel with the Duke, 216–23
———, Dr. Hume's account, 219

York, Duke of, funeral and debts, 161

APPENDIX, pp. 367–74.

Extracts from Napier's 'Peninsular War.'
Coining French money, 367
Effect of the good discipline of the allied armies on the entry into France, 367
Lessons taught by Wellington's campaigns, 367

Extracts from 'The Subaltern,' by the Rev. G. R. Gleig.
Condition of Spanish troops (1813), 369
Good feeling between the armies, 369
Wellington at the Bidassoa, 368

'Wellington Despatches,' III., 11–4.
La Maraude—The cause of the loss of the French army in Russia in 1812..371

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

3 2044 051 073 22

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

CA
DEBOOK DUE-WID
JAN 1980

WIDENER
MAY 31 2000
BOOK DUE